Making sense of transnational belonging and social citizenship - the experiences of Polish migrants in the South West England

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Award date:
2021

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

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submitted by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

of the

University of Bath

Department of Social and Policy Sciences

February 2021

Abstract

The Polish migrants are the largest minority of the EU citizens in the UK, but there has been relatively little research attentions paid to their experiences of belonging and social citizenship. This thesis offers an account of how the belonging and the social citizenship are experienced and negotiated by Polish migrants engaged in transnational migration. This study is based on 55 in-depth interviews with Polish migrants in the UK and returnees to Poland, who all originally migrated to the UK after the EU enlargement in 2004. Grounded theory was employed to collect and analyse the data. The empirical data were obtained through fieldwork in the region of South West England. The qualitative research addressed following research question: how are transnational belonging and social citizenship experienced by Polish migrants in the South West England? The main conceptual contribution of this work is an in-depth synthesis of existing concepts related to transnational belonging, and development of a novel approach to understand the notion of belonging such as politics of belonging, social anchoring, and embedding. I argue that the experiences of belonging comprise three main dimensions i.e. identification, attachment, and membership. These three dimensions can overlap each other, and the relations between them are dynamic. These dimensions of belonging can be experienced on individual, collective, and institutional levels. What is more, the belonging can be experienced transnationally with the links in at least two places. In particular, the thesis applies this innovative approach to identify three forms of belonging experienced by the participants in this study: a) presentism - based on temporally targeted timeframe of stay in the UK and a presumed plan of return to the country of origin, b) settlement - focused on stay in the UK due to the assumption of lack of opportunities in the country of origin or having family in the UK, and c) fluidity - where decision making process is fluid, affecting life in the UK, while at the same time, the participants do not feel that they belong to the place of their current stay. Furthermore, the negotiation of the experience of the belonging and the social citizenship is based on significant perspectives: temporality, motivation of migration, intersectionality, and transnationalism. In conclusion, I specify what is the understanding and experiences of belonging and social citizenship for the participants in this study. Those findings could be incorporated into the ongoing debate about Polish migrants working and living in the UK. *Making sense* of the notion of belonging and experiences related to this notion is particularly important in shaping public discourse about migration, especially in the context of the Brexit referendum aftermath.

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Acronyms

500+ Family 500 Plus introduced in 2016 new child benefits in Poland.

CEE Central and Eastern Europe.

DWP Department of Work and Pension.

EEA The European Economic Area.

EHIC European Health Insurance Card.

EU The European Union.

EU10 The 10 countries that joined the EU in 2004 (EU8) and Romania and Bulgaria, who joined in 2007 (EU2).

EU15 Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.

EU8 also called A8. The countries which joined to the EU in 2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

GBP British Pound Sterling.

GP General Practitioner.

HMRC Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs.

JSA Jobseeker's Allowance.

LFS Labour Force Survey.

NFZ National Health Care System in Poland.

NHS National Health Service in the UK.

NINo National Insurance Number.

ONS Official National Statistics.

PLN Polish Zloty.

TRANSWEL Mobile Welfare in a Transnational Europe: An Analysis of Portability Regimes of Social Security Rights.

UK The United Kingdom.

WP Work Packages in the TRANSWEL project.

Acknowledgement

There are many people I would like to thank you for making this research journey successful. Firstly, I would like to say thank you to all participants of this research – all Polish migrants in the UK, returnees, double returnees, and significant others, who generously agreed to participate in this research, devoted their time to tell their life stories to me. This research would be impossible to complete without them. Thank you.

I would like to thank you all members of the TRANSWEL project; German team: Prof. Anna Amelina, Dr. Jana Fingarova, and Florian Zabransky; Swedish team: Prof. Ann Runfors, Dr. Florence Fröhlig, and Dr. Maarja Saar; with special thanks to Austrian team: Prof. Elisabeth Scheibelhofer, Nora Regös, Clara Holzinger, and Noémi Bakonyi, for an opportunity to work with them at the University of Vienna as a visiting researcher. Moreover, it was great to have colleagues at the same research career stage; Nora and Jana thank you for our PhD Skypes and chats during the workshops and conferences, it was easier to survive by sharing similar experiences ;-). I also want to express my gratefulness to the UK team: for Dr. Bożena Sojka, thank you for your support, our meetings to discuss all types of topics ;-), and for commenting on my thesis. The special and most significant thank you, I would like to express to my supervisor Dr. Emma Carmel. I remember well that before I started to work at the University of Bath I had wished to work with someone, who would be more than a supervisor, who would be my mentor, with whom I could enjoy working and learning. My dream has come true. I could observe and learn from her as a researcher, a manager, and a person. Emma also knew perfectly when to point me out a better direction, and when I should have freedom to discover my own way. Thank you Emma!

I would like to also say thank you for all my friends (native speakers!), who agreed to proofread this dissertation on all stages of corrections: Kinzah Abbasi, Amrita Athwal, Dr. Barbara Bujak, Chris Bouse, Chris Else with Joanna Jesionkowska, Wendy Grant,

Dr. Emmanuel Kumi, Caleb Mallard, Dr. Emma Phelps, and Dr. Susan Wagland.

Moreover, I want to thank my family: my Parents - Wanda and Narcyz, who showed me a value of education, and nurtured me to develop my knowledge and to be independent, and also have supported me by texting, writing letters, and calling (Mum, you were one of a kind! I know that you wanted to be at my graduation, you are with me everyday in my heart and my memories. I know that you still take care of me). My siblings: Narcyz, Ania, and Wojtek thank you for all calls and messages to me. You kept asking about my research even though you knew that I might talk about it for a long, really long time ;-). Thank you for being in my life with your families. Narcyz and Wojtek, your support after our Mum passed away is priceless, thank you.

Above all, for being supportive, for his faithfulness in me, and reading the thesis from the beginning to the end... countless times with me. My biggest thank you goes to my beloved husband and the best friend. Thank you that I always felt that *we were in it together*.

This thesis is dedicated to Bartek.

Podziękowania

Jest wiele osób które przyczyniły się do tego, że ta naukowa podróż zakończyła się sukcesem. Na początku chcę podziękować wszystkim uczestnikom badania – polskim migrantom przebywającym w Anglii, tym którzy powrócili z emigracji, i ich bliskim, którzy tak hojnie zgodzili się wziąć udział w badaniu, spędzić ze mną czas i podzielić się swoją historią migracji. Tych badań nie udałoby się zakończyć bez Was.

Podziękowania kieruję także dla członków projektu TRANSWEL; zespołu niemieckiego: prof. Annie Amelinie, dr Janie Fingarovej i Florianowi Zabranskyemu; zespołu szwedzkiego: prof. Annie Runfors, dr Florence Fröhlig i dr Maarji Saar. Specjalne podziękowania dla zespołu austriackiego: prof. Elisabeth Scheibelhofer, Norze Regös, Clarze Holzinger, and Noémi Bakonyi, z który miałam możliwość pracować jako wizytujący naukowiec na Uniwersytecie Wiedeńskim. Ponadto ogromnie doceniam wsparcie i rozmowy przez Skype, na konferencjach i warsztatach z Norą i Janą które będąc na podobnym etapie pisania doktoratu doskonale mnie rozumiały. Dzięki temu łatwiej było przetrwać ;-). Moją wdzięczność kieruję także to zespołu brytyjskiego, do dr Bożeny Sojki, za wszystkie spotkania i rozmowy na wszystkie możliwe tematy ;-) oraz za przeczytanie i skomentowanie mojego doktoratu. Największe podziękowania kieruję do mojej promotor dr Emmy Carmel. Pamiętam, że przed rozpoczęciem pracy naukowej na Uniwersytecie w Bath marzyłam aby pracować z kimś kto nie będzie tylko szefem, ale będzie moim mentorem – z kim będę chciała pracować i od kogo będę chciała i mogła się uczyć. Cóż, marzenia się spełniają! Mogłam obserwować i wiele się nauczyć od Ciebie jako naukowca, menadżera i człowieka. Emma doskonale wiedziałaś kiedy pokazać mi kierunek w którym ma iść, a kiedy dać mi wolną rękę abym mogła sama zdecydować. Dziękuję Emmo!

Serdeczne podziękowania kierują do Kinzah Abbasi, Amrity Athwal, dr Barbary Bujak, Chris Bouse, Chrisa Else wraz z Joanną Jesionkowską, Wendy Grant, dr Emmanuela Kumi, Caleba Mallard, dr Emmy Phelps, dr Susan Wagland za poświęcony czas na

przeczytanie i korektę rozdziałów pod względem językowym na różnych etapach pisania tej pracy.

Ponadto, chcę podziękować mojej rodzinie: moim Rodzicom - Wandzie i Narcyzowi, którzy pokazali mi wartość edukacji i popchnęli mnie do rozwijania wiedzy i bycia niezależną osobą, a także okazywali wsparcie m.in. poprzez wiadomości, listy, telefony i *zmaterializowane uczucia*. (Mamo, byłaś jedyna w swoim rodzaju! Wiem, że bardzo chciałaś przyjechać na rozdanie dyplomów, jesteś ze mną cały czas w moim sercu i wspomnieniach. Wiem, że cieszysz się i opiekujesz się mną). Rodzeństwu: Narcyzowi, Ani i Wojtkowi dziękuję za ich telefony i wiadomości do mnie, za to że wciąż pytaliście *jak mój doktorat* mimo, że wiedzieliście że to temat na który mogę nie przestać mówić przez długi czas jak już zacznę ;-). Dziękuję, że jesteście obecni w moim życiu wraz ze swoimi rodzinami. Narcyzie i Wojtku, Wasze wsparcie jest dla mnie bezcenne szegółnie od kiedy nie ma naszej Mamy, dziękuję.

Ponad wszystko, za wsparcie na każdym kroku, za wiarę że dam radę, a także za czytanie tej pracy od początku do końca kilka razy ;-). Największe podziękowania kieruję do mojego ukochanego Męża i najlepszego Przyjaciela. Dziękuję, że zawsze czułam od Ciebie, że *jesteśmy w tym razem*.

Ta praca jest dedykowania Bartkowi.

Chapter 1

Introduction

You can't build a society purely on interests, you need a sense of belonging.
(Valery Giscard d'Estaing, 2003)

1.1 Context of the EU post-accession migration

2004 was a milestone for the European Union (EU) migration history, as the most demanding pursuit of integration in EU history took place. The 2004 EU enlargement was considered as a challenge for several reasons, firstly, because of the number of countries that joined the EU in one step, and secondly, due to remarkable socio-economical differences between the *new* and *old* members of the EU. The large wave of newcomers was seen when migrants from the new EU states started to exercise their rights to move freely across the EU member states (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 652-653). Such a wave of migrants obviously brought various demographic changes in the EU (Favell 2008, p. 701). The enlargement of the EU by the new member states increased the total population of the EU by almost 20% to 508 million citizens (Europa.eu 2017, Manning 2004, p. 212). The majority of the new EU members were the former Soviet bloc countries with weak economies, high unemployment rates, and a different organization of social security systems. The destination countries could, therefore, experience a higher number of migrants, primarily because of the noticeable differences in living standard and job opportunities (Donaghey & Teague 2006, Manning 2004, p. 212). The Western Europe also lobbied the European Commission claiming that open borders would be an advantage for the *old* members states because the states would get new talented and highly educated Eastern Europeans (Borjas 1989, Favell 2008, p. 703). However, public opinion, in general, expressed fear of a large flow of the migrants that was predicted

(Carrera 2005, p. 707); (McDowell 2009, p. 20), because the higher number of migrants could compete with nationals in the labour market (Carrera 2005, p. 707). What is more, there was a concern of *social tourism* of migrants (Kvist 2004, p. 305); (Carmel & Sojka 2018). Therefore, the Treaty of Accession granted to the *old* members states a transition period delaying full access to their markets for the newcomers. For the specified period i.e. 2+3+2 years[1], the labour market was closed[2] in most of the *old* countries. The transition period was also introduced to settle down public fears, and to provide *old* EU member nationals opportunity to gradually change their opinion. But three countries: Sweden, the Republic of Ireland (Ireland), and the United Kingdom (UK) did not use this option, and opened their labour markets for the new member states immediately in May 2004 (Carrera 2005, p. 706-707). In some cases, the decision to open the labour market immediately after the 2004 EU accession brought significant political consequences. For example, in the UK, after the Labour party lost power and consequently Prime Minister Tony Blair left the office in 2010, the party constantly apologised to the public for their decision (Geddes 2014, p. 290). The number of migrants, who came to Ireland after enlargement as jobseekers, was 22,933 in total, and the number of migrants increased to 104,800 in 2007 (Carrera 2005, p. 709). In turn, the Home Office in the UK reported that the average flow in each year before enlargement was between 5,000 and 13,000, while after enlargement it increased to 170,000 (Geddes 2014, p. 290). Those data showed that the actual flow of migrants increased annually in all countries but most significantly in the UK (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 565). It is worth to note that the precise estimation of the number of migrants is difficult, because the migration statistics are based on surveys, not actual number of migrants (Sturge 2018). The high number of migrants meant that migrants often looked for jobs outside their countries of origin, but it also the employers were free to acquire employees from the new EU states. This was explained in several ways: *[f]irst, the evidence suggested that there is a range of occupations and jobs, most notably in agriculture, catering and domestic service, which the EU-15 workers are now reluctant to accept even in the member states that are experiencing persistent high structural unem-*

[1]Each country, which decided to provide this transition time, was required to revise this decision in specific periods. First revision was after two years, then after three years, and the last after next two years. The maximum possible time of transition was agreed to seven years.

[2]The transition period was not an entirely new concept in the history of EU, for example, it was used earlier for the accession of Spain and Portugal in 1986 (Royo 2007). A full accession was achieved gradually according to three steps provided through *transnational agreement*. However, it was agreed that the period of seven years for transition cannot be exceeded. After the transition period, or if the country relaxed all barriers before this seven years period, the new EU members must have the same rights as other EU members (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 652-654). Germany was an example of earlier removal of the restrictions on the labour market for EU migrants. Germany decided to open market for all new countries (so called EU8) (Castles et al. 2013, p. 233) after the European Commission report from 2006 showed that newcomers and free movement had a positive impact on the labour market.

ployment. Low-skilled migrants may pay the important role of filling these increasingly significant labour market gaps (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 654). Secondly, in most of the old EU countries, the population is described as ageing, so those countries are in need of younger population and active workers. Thirdly, the priority for governments was to acquire well-skilled workers, and the lack of this type of workers on the national labour markets was easily filled through migrants from the new EU countries (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 654-655). The statistics showed that *the evidence is that EU-8 workers make a positive contribution to the economic performance to their host Member State (...)[and] suggests that labour mobility from the EU-8 Member States makes a positive impact on the EU-15 labour market by upgrading the general level of human capital stock and by relieving skill shortages* (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 565). Consequently, the receiving countries gained new workers (including both low and highly skilled), while migrants achieved employment or improved their living conditions. As a result, the countries, which opened the labour market in 2004 such as Sweden, Ireland, and the UK, observed a higher rate of employment for migrants than for nationals (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 656), but the difference of employing migrants and nationals was only 3% (Rienzo 2016, p. 4).

Additionally, the scale of migration was not measured precisely, because EU countries collected data in different ways, therefore it was often impossible to harmonise and compare them in a consistent way. Moreover, in most of the national statistics, the undocumented migrants were not included. In the case of the UK, the estimates of migrants were based on *NINo [National Insurance Number] allocations, however, this does not indicate when a worker entered the country, therefore, such numbers could be considered only as a rough approximation of new worker registrations, not as an exact number of migrants. The reliability of NINo allocations for measuring inflows of workers was further questionable by the fact that not all migrants requested a NINo number* (Carlos & Yvonni 2015, p. 9). Besides, the migrants, who travelled back and forward, were also some-how invisible in the statistics as they registered only once. Furthermore, in some surveys (e.g. LFS – Labour Force Survey) certain groups e.g. students were not included in the research because they did not necessarily live in private households (Carlos & Yvonni 2015, p. 9). Also, Polish migrants in the EU were often registered in official Polish statistics, because they did not want to give up their residency registration in the country of origin. This could be explained either as a need to belong to the Polish society (even if this existed only on paper), or as a formal requirement (as a residency registration is compulsory in Poland). As a result, it was possible to show only a sketchy picture of overall migration within the EU. A small scale of migration was suggested by Okólski & Salt (2014, p. 4) as *official emigration from Poland was low, around 200*

per annum in 1998-2002; between 2004 and 2012 only 55,000 *Poles officially emigrated to Britain and ceased to be counted as official residents of Poland* (2014, p. 4). After the accession in 2004, the flow of Polish migrants to the UK increased, reaching almost 710,000 successful application forms to the Worker Registration Scheme (63% of the total from all EU8 countries) between 2004 and 2010 (Kilkey et al. 2014, p. 180). The data from 2014 showed that for the second time in the UK's history, the most common non-British nationality was Polish[3] (853,000) (ONS 2015, p. 3).

Moreover, the EU8 migrants gained access to the social security system within the EU member states based on EU regulations. Based on Regulation 883/2004 (EU 2004*b*) on social security co-ordination, EU citizens have rights to access and port social protection rights. *[P]ortability of social security was both embedded in specific national political economies of welfare and work, and also a mechanism for the organisation of social security beyond the national welfare state. It was organised as a crossnational mechanism between closed national welfare systems. It was designed to secure and maintain the closure of social citizenship, and the privileges of particular groups of migrant workers, in the face of their mobility* (Carmel et al. 2015*b*, p. 8). The migrants could claim and port social security rights from and to sending and receiving countries in the area of unemployment, family-related benefits, health insurance, and pension (Avato et al. 2010, Holzmann & Koettl 2012, Carmel et al. 2015*b*, Amelina 2019, p. 2). *Portability is the ability of migrant workers to preserve, maintain, and transfer benefits from a social security programme from one country to another and between localities in a country (spatial portability), between jobs* (Taha et al. 2015, p. 98);(Carmel et al. 2015*b*, p. 8).

Finally, dynamic migration processes happening in all EU member states were further distorted by the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum (so called the Brexit referendum) in 2016 and its aftermath leading to the UK withdrawal from the EU and thus change of the EU migrant rights in the UK. While the Brexit referendum happened at the time when the data for this study were collected, the conducted research was not aiming to discuss the outcomes of the Brexit referendum, as this research started before the referendum was announced. However, the processes of the EU migration to the UK after the 2004 enlargement mentioned in this thesis, are thought to have considerable impact on the Brexit referendum result as migration was one of the key arguments used during the referendum campaign, primarily expressed by the members

[3]The high number of Polish migrants in the UK was noticed after the Second World War. *In 1951 Poland was the second highest non-UK country of birth; however this population did not grow again substantially until a new influx of Polish-born migrants in the period following Poland's accession to the EU before the 2011 Census, when the Polish-born were once again the second highest non-UK born group, although with a much larger number of residents* ONS (2013)

of the Leave campaign e.g. *This would bring our population to 80 million within 30 years. If we remain in the EU there will be nothing to stop a continuing rapid increase in our population. This would change our country forever against the express wishes of a very large majority of our fellow citizens* (BBC 2016). Therefore, it was important to acknowledge the meaning of the Brexit referendum for Polish migrants' experiences of belonging and social membership. The result of the Brexit referendum manifested the public concerns of migrants' presence in the UK, because presumptions of the migrants, who could negatively impact British citizens' jobs, wages, and quality of life, could still exist (Wadsworth et al. 2016, p. 35). While the fieldwork started before the referendum result was announced, the interviews were collected during the referendum campaign as well as just after it, and therefore, the migrants could easily express their worries, fears, concerns, and thoughts about Brexit during the interviews. I am strongly convinced that the preliminary thoughts and the data collected between 2016/2017 are important for future research about the impact of Brexit on the migrants' decision to stay or return, and the migrants' experiences of transnational belonging.

1.2 Research objectives

The purpose of this thesis is to reveal a personalised face of the transnational EU migration after 2004, when Poland and other countries: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia, and Slovenia (EU8) joined the European Union. The migration within the EU has been widely explored in the literature (Castles et al. 2013) because the number of the migrants has rapidly increased, and migration and its impact has become an even more interesting research topic in migration studies among other disciplines. The reasons for migration (King 2002, Koelet et al. 2017, p. 442), the scale of migration (Castro-Martín & Cortina 2015, Koelet et al. 2017, p. 442), the consequences of migration (Brochman 2003), and the new concepts related to migration such as transnational membership (Soysal 2012, Faist 2014), anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016), and embedding (Ryan & Mulholland 2015) have been proposed in the migration literature. However, the transnational experiences of belonging and social citizenship have not been explored together. Therefore, this thesis explores how belonging and social citizenship have been experienced and actualised by Polish migrants engaged in EU migration. This research becomes important because the Polish migrants, as well as the migrants from other countries that joined the EU in 2004, acquired a set of rights by being EU citizens, however the EU migrants' privileges came under public scrutiny, especially in the UK. The migrants in the EU possess the rights to move freely between EU member states (Directive 2004/38/EC) (EU 2004*a*,

Favell 2008, p. 701). The scale of migration after 2004 has showed that the new EU citizens have attempted to vigorously exercise their rights to move within the EU, and claim their social security rights. The rights, which the migrants have acquired, impact also the migrants' experiences of transnational belonging, because they might experience their identification, attachment, and social membership in at least two places (Schiller et al. 1995, p. 49). Moreover, following the EU regulations, EU migrants and nationals have possessed the same social rights in the member states. Public and political discourse has showed increased fear of losing jobs by British citizens and spending public money for migrants in the UK. The British public coined a term of *stealing jobs and benefits*, despite no evidence of *social tourism* in migration statistics (Wadsworth et al. 2016, p. 48). Public opinion seems to be deaf on any arguments, and *the popular view is that a high level of labour migration causes job losses among domestic workforce, undermines working conditions and rights, and increases social tensions. Every Member State appears to have its own version of the Polish Plumbers story*[4] (Donaghey & Teague 2006, p. 657). The belonging of migrants, particularly around social citizenship, has been problematised because the public discourse might also impact on the migrants' experiences of their belonging.

The migration changes in the EU might impact significantly on the migrants' experiences, but so far, the belonging and social citizenship experiences in the EU had been neglected. Therefore, to present the Polish migrants' perspective on experiences of transnational belonging and social citizenship, I conducted the research on Polish migrants, who have migrated to the UK after the 2004 EU enlargement. Firstly, I have investigated diverse experiences of transnational belonging and social citizenship based on the type of migration, education, employment, family status, and gender. Additionally, I have included two other characteristics, which have been identified as important in the experiences of transnational belonging: motivation of migration, and the assumed time of stay abroad. Finally, I have investigated the meaning of Polish migrants' experience of transnational belonging and social citizenship in the UK.

The conducted study consists of the 55 in-depth interviews with Polish migrants, returnees who migrated to the UK after 2004, and significant others of migrants. Grounded theory was employed to collect and analyse the data. The empirical data were obtained through the research fieldwork in the regions of interest in South West England. The detailed analyses of those interviews facilitated a conceptualization of the theoretical foundations describing a notion of transnational belonging of Polish mi-

[4]The *Polish plumber* is a label used to describe cheap labour in the old EU countries from the new EU countries (BBC 2005, McDowell 2009, p. 20)

grants in the UK. Moreover, I argue that the key dimensions of the belonging namely identification, attachment, and membership are crucial to comprehensively describe the Polish migrants' experiences of migration. Based on the discovered dimensions, I have clustered experiences of the participants into three distinguishable groups related to the **forms of transnational belonging** experienced by the participants. In particular, the thesis demonstrates three forms of transnational belonging represented by the Polish participants of this study i.e. **presentism**, **settlement**, and **fluidity**. The forms of belonging are created based on the experiences on the three dimensions: identification, attachment, and membership. The identification is often linked with the ethnicity and experiences of self-categorisation. The attachment is related to the place, in which the migrants feel emotionally and financially safe, and which they can call *home*. Finally, the membership is presented as understanding of formal citizenship and experiences connected with social security rights.

The presented dimensions of belonging are created by thoughtful examinations of two main factors: motivation of migration, and assumptions of temporality of migration. The motivation of migration is defined as a set of reasons why the participants migrated including opportunities to improve financial situation, precarious working or living conditions, or career opportunities to name a few. It is important to note that the motivation of migration was a necessary but not sufficient element to understand the experiences of belonging. The motivation of migration overlapped with participants' assumption of time which they planned to spend in the UK. The participants frequently predefined a length of migration before they actually migrated. The exact time frame was not necessary precisely stipulated, but it was important for the participants to highlight a timeline of their migration. I have identified three main approaches to these time frames namely temporary, permanent, and flexible stay in the UK. The motivations and temporal frame linked together in the analyses opened a unique opportunity to create the distinguishable forms of transnational belonging experiences, and enabled me to discover the impact of migrants' experience on their understanding of belonging and social membership.

1.3 Application of the research

The outcomes of this thesis contribute to the existing academic literature in several ways.

The main conceptual contribution of this work is an in-depth synthesis of the existing concepts related to transnational belonging, and so creating a novel approach to un-

derstand the notion of transnational belonging. I argue that belonging comprises three main dimensions i.e. identification, attachment, and membership, which might be experienced transnationally so in more than one place. Thus, social citizenship is integrated into the concept of transnational belonging as an equal dimension. The presented dimensions overlap each other, and the relations between the dimensions are dynamic and might be experienced in relation to individuals, collectives, and institutions.

My empirical contribution is based on creation of the forms of the experiences of belonging of the Polish migrants in the UK included in this research. The forms presents three sets of characteristics of belonging: **presentism, settlement** and **fluidity**. This contribution to migration studies shows that the forms of experiences of transnational belonging of the participants in this study are differentiated in relation to the migrants' approach to migration i.e. a presumed time frame and motivation of migration.

The research findings also make an empirical contribution to the understanding of the migrants' adjustment to the society in the destination countries. The adjustment of migrants is important for the states to have *good citizens*, but the findings show that the adjustment of the participants become unsuccessful if they do not belong to the country of destination. Moreover, the findings evidenced of different approaches to the social security system in the UK by the participants' based on their experiences of belonging. The findings can be incorporated as policy recommendation in an ongoing public and political discourse about Polish migrants in the UK in the context of *social tourism*, and more broadly migration to the UK after the Brexit referendum.

The thesis is presented in 9 chapters.

Chapter 2 provides an examination of the complexity and multidimensionality of experiences of belonging discussed in the literature. The analysis of the literature is mainly related to the dimensions: identification, attachment, and membership, which are constituted on three levels: individual, collective, and institutional. By discussing a notion of belonging, I consider the impact of intersectionality, transnationalism, and temporality (length of stay) on the creation of the notion of belonging in all three dimensions and levels.

Chapter 3 provides an empirical framework for this research by reviewing the existing literature on migration, in particular, Eastern European migration to the UK, focusing mostly on Polish migrants as there are some similarities between EU8 migration and Polish migration. Although Polish migration is widely studied in the migration literature due to being the largest migration amongst the EU countries, little research has been done in the context of the belonging of Polish migrants in the UK. Therefore, I

discuss the existing literature regarding the aspects, which mainly impact the Polish migrants i.e. transnational belonging and social citizenship. Firstly, the chapter shows the complexity of motivation of migration. I argue how the mixture of financial difficulties, family status, precarious employment, and other factors in the country of origin play a crucial role in the decision behind migration. Secondly, I highlight the significance of social networks in the migrants' decision of stay or return with the respect to their personal experiences of belonging and attachment, and the change of social ties over time. Moreover, I emphasise the importance of identification and belonging for Polish migrants in the context of the overall migration process. The process of migration might impact experiences of belonging, thus identity and belonging do not seem to be stable constructs, but are rather dynamically negotiated by migrants and their experiences. This chapter concludes by showing institutional aspect of belonging, in which migrants face their formal belonging by receiving social membership from the state. The diverse approaches to define *good citizens* and the requirements for formal belonging for migrants are discussed to present the contradictions in the understanding of citizenship. I also include the official statistics of migrants who have exercised their social rights in the UK.

Chapter 4 describes the research methodology applied in this study. Firstly, I discuss the ontological and epistemological position including the significance of my own positionality in the research process. Additionally, I justify a selection of grounded theory as a research method to collect and analyse the empirical data. The method is described along with the decision-making process on how to select Polish migrants for the interviews. Moreover, I discuss ethical issues and challenges, which I faced during the fieldwork and analysis process.

Chapters 5 to 7 set out the empirical findings of the conducted research. I present the detailed description of the discovered dimensions for belonging of Polish migrants. The three identified forms of experiences of belonging for Poles in the UK are as follows: presentism, settlement, and fluidity. The migrants included in Chapter 5 and 6 are diverse in terms of age, gender, family status, and class. The group of migrants studied in Chapter 7 is more class coherent, mostly consisting of highly skilled professionals, who migrated to the UK because of career opportunities.

In **Chapter 5**, I describe a first group of the participants, which is characterised by the significance of the Polish identification for the migrants and their children, keeping or creating their Polish attachments and Polish-oriented communities in the UK until their actual return to Poland. The social membership dimension of experiences of belonging is presented by the migrants in their utilitarian understanding of social membership

rights, and understanding themselves as equal to the other citizens by their contributory rights in the UK. The participants wanted to use their contributions to acquire state pension in the UK, and having the UK state pension is shown as a way to secure future retirement in Poland. Additionally, the migrants accessed the health care system in Poland. The significant factor for the migrants was motivation to return to Poland, and a decision about temporary stay in the UK was made either before their migration, or just after arrival to the UK. The assumed length of migration, which the migrants kept alive during their migration, is linked with the targeted motivation of migration.

In **Chapter 6**, I present the description of the second group of participants. The migrants' identification was described as Polish with a wish to become a British citizen. However, the migrants experienced an ambivalence in their identification experiences, they wanted to be recognised as British but they conceded that they might never be treated as British in the UK. Their experiences of being foreigners have not changed the migrants' identification of their children as British. The migrants' plans to stay permanently in the UK impacted on their attachments, the migrants created attachments to the UK, where they identified with a place which they called home. Finally, their social membership experiences can be described as subordination to the state and to *the Queen*, who was seen as an authority granting social rights. I discuss the migrants' need to justify their eligibility for social rights, showing their deservedness of social membership rights. The participants seemed to trust both health care systems, but they tented to access the health care system in the UK more often, and only occasionally accessed the health care system in Poland, especially during family visits. The participants planned to stay permanently in the UK and their assumption about such a stay was made before, just after arrival, or after a double return to the UK. Their motivations were similar to the first form, and so the participants moved because of economic reasons, but they wanted to improve their living conditions in the UK. The reasons were clearly defined and the participants showed their dreaming approach to the UK as they imagined life in the UK as being more prosperous than in Poland. The migrants' narrations in the interviews showed that there were two main points, which created the migrants' experiences of a better quality of life: more opportunities to find a job, and higher employees' security to receive full and timely wages.

In **Chapter 7**, I discuss the third group of participants. The participants had a fluid approach to the time frame of migration as they adapted their plans to their work opportunities. Moreover, their identification existed on a rather abstract level, they described themselves as global or European citizens. Additionally, the attachments were also flexible, they seemed to be attached to their career, and to their ageing

parents for whom they feel a responsibility to support in the future. Finally, their flexibility and need of having opportunities were also seen in their experiences of social membership. They preferred to be independent from the social system, they strived to have additional savings, and to invest their financial resources to secure their future, or to be able to choose the best possible health care treatment for themselves. The place or location did not seem to be as significant as the quality and comfort of life. The participants wanted to have choices and to be able to make their own, independent decisions about their lives.

Chapter 8 provides the discussion that amalgamates the presented findings in the context of the existing literature and this research project about transnational belonging and social citizenship. I argue that the transnational belonging experiences should be discussed in three dimensions of belonging namely identification, attachment, and membership. Following the analyses, I discuss the important perspectives, which had an impact on the participants' experiences i.e. motivation of migration, temporality, intersectionality, and transnationalism. Based on the empirical analyses, I present the findings, which include sets of similarities and differences between participants in the forms of belonging experiences.

Finally, **Chapter 9** presents the conclusion to this thesis with the overview of the research, methodological implication, and theoretical and empirical contributions. The findings are presented in the light of the current migrants' situation including aftermath of the Brexit referendum. I also summarise the contributions of this study, positioning them in the existing literature, and then provide suggestions for policy implications. This chapter ends with discussion about possible directions of future research, which could help to understand comprehensively experiences of belonging of the other EU migrants.

Chapter 2

Conceptualising belonging

2.1 Introduction

The notion of belonging is one of the most important concepts in the social sciences, and so it has been widely discussed in the literature. At the same time, the notion of belonging has been considered as a vaguely defined and not well-explained term (Skrbiš et al. 2007, Antonsich 2010, Ryan 2018*a*, p.645). Unquestionably, belonging has been seen as a complex and multidimensional concept (Hannerz 2002, Antonsich 2010, Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore 2017, Ryan 2018*a*, Croucher 2003, p.186). Most simply, belonging can be considered as some-how equivalent to the notion of identification or citizenship (Antonsich 2010, p.644) showing a more formal side of belonging. More commonly, the meaning of belonging is taken as granted (Croucher 2003, p.186) and can be linked with experiences such as an emotional state of feeling at home that is usually interpreted as a safe haven (Ignatieff 2010), where people hope for a better future (Hage 2012). However, when considering belonging at a personal level, the same person can experience belonging in different ways, because *people can belong in many different ways and to many different objects of attachment* (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.12). Due the complexity and multidimensionality of belonging, it is difficult to establish solid criteria to define the concept precisely (Miller 2003, p.216). Therefore, experiences of belonging are also perplexing to define, especially when belonging is considered as individual, collective, or institutional experiences.

In this chapter, I examine the complexity and multidimensionality of experiences of belonging. The experiences of belonging have been primarily discussed in the literature by using three dimensions: membership, identification, and attachment, meaning

that experiences of belonging can be considered at three levels: institutional (membership), individual (identification), and collective (attachment). While the presented dimensions are discussed here separately to provide a comprehensible overview, they are overlapping. Additionally, to analyse the experiences of belonging in depth, it is important to take into consideration significant perspectives such as intersectionality, transnationalism, and temporality, which impact upon how migrants experience those dimensions.

Firstly, I discuss the institutional level at which membership experiences can be created in relation to the existing regulations and requirements. Understanding the formal creation of membership in the light of intersectionality, transnationalism, and temporality allows to capture the experiences, which migrants can face during the migration process. The differentiation between membership and citizenship is frequently imperceptible. Here, I use the term of membership to describe the experiences at institutional level and I use the term citizenship to refer to formal requirements and rights. Secondly, I present the complexity of the identification process which is important in the creation of belonging. There are diverse approaches to construct identification including one strong identity, dual identity, and hybridity. In this chapter, I also incorporate current understanding about social networks, which are used to consider the creation of identification. Thirdly, attachment is discussed at collective level by including the experiences of belonging and the need for security, and a foothold for migrants in their process of attachment. The importance of social networks in the embedding process to create belonging and attachment is also acknowledged.

Importantly, the commonly discussed perspectives of the abovementioned dimensions are: intersectionality, transnationalism, and temporality (length of stay). Interestingly, those perspectives are present in all three dimensions and levels of analyses but there is notable diversity. Intersectionality is a perspective, which needs to be considered in relation to belonging experiences at all three levels of experience (individual, collective, institutional). However, cross-cut categories, which need to be discussed to capture all ongoing migration processes, are not preset because categories cannot be defined in advance. Despite this, there are categories which are likely to be important in the consideration of membership. These include identification and attachment: gender, age, religion, and class. The existing and newly created boundaries of exclusion and inclusion define who can belong and be members of a community and who cannot. Analyses of the boundaries of transnationalism are clearly seen at institutional level in the literature but not at the other two levels: individual and collective.

Temporal perspectives in the migration processes has been studied, but the impact of

time on the notion of belonging has not been well explored yet (Ryan 2018*b*, p.247). Time is a significant factor that needs to be taken into consideration in migration studies (King et al. 2006), especially time is understood as *length of stay* in the country of destination, which has an impact on granting formal citizenship, because of requirements that are necessary to fulfil by migrants before the process of naturalisation and receiving citizenship could reach completion. The membership dimension, in general, seems to well organised and formalised because it is based on formal regulations, requirements and rights, whereas dimensions of identification and attachments are more related to personal experiences. Belonging experiences can comprise membership, and as presented later in this thesis, this needs further elaboration.

2.2 Institutional level: politics of belonging and idea of membership

Yuval-Davis (2011*b*) claims that the political projects of belonging are created in social and political contexts, and so this also means that social and political narration can change approaches to the concept of belonging. Therefore, one dimension, which helps to understand belonging, is membership that envelops the formally and institutionally created boundaries of belonging. Citizenship, in the liberal approach, was understood as a status or a set of practices. As a status, individual rights and preferences were important with limited intervention of the state in the citizen's life. In this approach, citizens, who are loosely connected, are considered as first and basic bearers of rights (Lister 1997, Plant 1998, Dwyer 2010, p.27). Citizenship as a status is desirable for migrants because only citizens possess rights (Barbalet 1988, p.16). Alternatively, citizenship is understood as a practice in the republican approach, where the focus is on the individual's commitments and obligations to the wider community. The citizen's duties are important and so citizens undertake communal duties and have a willingness to actively participate in public duties (Kymlicka & Norman 1994, Heater 2013, Dwyer 2000, p.1,20).

These two approaches were merged together in a concept of social citizenship. The term social citizenship was first used by Marshall (1963) and it focused on rights and duties of citizens. Based on the idea of social citizenship, citizens should possess equal civil, political, and social rights[5] in a particular society (Marshall 1963, p.147-150). Citizens have rights and obligations from the state and some commitments to the state.

[5](Twine 1994, p.104) called social citizenship a three-legged stool, which consists of civil, political, and social rights, and thus it can be easily overturned if the individual elements do not support each other.

T.H. Marshall's approach mainly shows the importance of equality of citizens, and according to this approach, each full member of the community has the same rights. This concept of social citizenship, a seemingly neutral citizenship concept, is however exclusionary e.g. women are not treated as full members of the community. Social citizenship is also relevant to the discussion of the national citizenship (Dwyer 2010, p.1), and I argue that both concepts: citizenship and social citizenship are relevant to the examination of the belonging. The claimant of the social rights (see Chapter 3) is presented either as a theoretical concept expressing the social status of the citizen, or as some-how a statistical model, based on statistical data presenting the social rights.

In intersectional[6] approach, social citizenship dynamics are strongly present. The members could possess the rights but it does not mean they achieve the status in the society, so the universal rights do not exist in practise (Kymlicka & Norman 1994, Lister 1997, p.69). *Related to that debate is the extent to which citizenship needs to be seen as an abstract category of the 'citizens' or as an embodies category, involving concrete people who are differentially situated in terms of gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, ability, stage in the life cycle etc. Feminists and anti-racists who have worked on the questions of citizenship have tended to emphasize the latter and thus de-homogenized the notion of citizenship* (Pateman 1992, p.48). In intersectional approach, social locations play a significant role in the creation of belonging and show the complexity and dynamics of belonging experiences. Yuval-Davis (2011*b*) and Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck (2012) use intersectional approach to show social stratification. The wide range of social categories e.g. sex, age, race, nation, gender, or class contribute to the creation of belonging, however, no prior categories exist in the analyses. Yuval-Davis (2011*b*) uses intersectional approach without a strong definition of the intersections, which are cross-cut, to ensure they are not limiting. For example, Marxists prioritise class as the most significant category, while feminists focus on gender. The intersectionality allows to understand belonging as produced in a discursive manner. The existing intersectional categories shape understanding of belonging in social contexts, and are also created at institutional level. Based on the existing or created categories, which cross-cut, members possess their rights and obligations, but it is not a stable experience because the

[6]The debate about intersectionality was intervened by radical feminists in the 80s, where it was questioned whether it was right to speak about *women* as a coherent group, which share the same experiences. The division among women was presented based on racialisation and class divisions. Therefore, women were presented as incoherent group (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983, Carby et al. 1982, Hooks 1981), which was later used by gender studies and queer theory (Butler 1999, Anthias 2012, p.106). The theories in the literature show different approaches by using an intersectional framework e.g. those, which are against or pro categorisation (Choo & Ferree 2010, Anthias 2012, McCall 2005, p.8). Some authors such as Crenshaw (1989) presents that the quality and structure experiences of black and white women are different.

categories are mutually constructive, and the number of the intersected categories and axes of power depends on historical and social context (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, p.13), and material and cultural forces (Runyan 2018).

For Yuval-Davis (2006), some of the social divisions become more important especially if the historical context is taken into consideration. In the current transnational time, it can be observed that intersectional thinking has also been changing, and there are movements which show either inclusive approach e.g. Women's March, Global Justice (Runyan 2018), or exclusive e.g. Brexit (see Chapter 8). In changing world, it is seen that there is a struggle in defining who is belonging and who is a member of the community. The politics of belonging at a more institutional level create the inclusion categories, which allow communities to describe who is a member and therefore who has rights. This is often interpreted as advantageous for migrants. Those rights are not firmly attached to migrants as it was highlighted above, they rather depend on historical, and current social and political situation. Furthermore, understanding of belonging is different in each state, and intersectionality impacts differently on migrants and citizens depending on the country, where they settle or plan to stay.

Moreover, the power of stratification impacts the construction of boundaries in the community. The boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are created by the people (see Section 2.4) or the institutions of power. The boundaries can be physical but they are frequently symbolic based on a division between *us* and *them* (Anderson 2013, Yuval-Davis 2011*b*,*a*, p.20-21). This confirms the instability and complexity of belonging, which was also highlighted in terms of intersectional categories that differ in context. Those boundaries (often institutional) are not neutral, they have impact on individuals' experiences of belonging, leading to the politics of belonging, which Favell (1999) called *dirty work of boundary maintenance. The politics of belonging refer to the processes of individuals, groups, societies, and polities deferring, negotiating, promoting, rejecting, violating, and transcending the boundaries of identities and belonging. These policies and processes are highly contextual, and although belonging and its fluid nature are as old history, the context in which belonging is negotiated change* (Croucher 2003, p.41). The boundaries, as mentioned above in the politics of belonging, differentiate people as us and them, and attempting to precisely define who is and who is not a member of the community (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, Croucher 2003, p.41-42). Politics of belonging can be claimed as who can enter and belong to a country, to be determined by the state (Carmel 2011, p.49) by providing formal requirements and criteria to judge belonging. In practice, this operates by exclusion criteria producing the discourse on division between those who belong and those who do not. *Through the discursive*

construction of a constitutive outside and the production of objected and marginalized subjects, apparently outside the field of the symbolic, the representable - the production of an 'outside', a domain of intelligible effects (Butler 1999, p.22).

The social citizenship is also discussed in terms of transnationalism and social developments (Turner 1993, p.1-2). As it was mentioned above, the boundaries can be moved, changed, softened, and created depending on the implemented political project, and social and historical context. Therefore, as the wave of migration between countries significantly increased, societies have become more multi-ethnical (Lister 1997, p.1-2), and so the rigid notion of Marshall's social citizenship became deficient. The literature presents a strong case for transnationalism due to transnational changes. Soysal (1994) proposed a new idea, the concept of a post-national membership, in which membership is not limited to national belonging. The individual, civil, political, and social rights associated with national belonging become abstract and based on human rights provided by the supra-national institutions (Colombo 2010, Soysal 2012). Soysal's concept includes the rights of minorities e.g. migrants, and it changes the previous dichotomy of citizens and foreigners. Thus, the territory and the notion of membership possess fluid boundaries. Additionally, responsibility for providing and implementing rights are left in hands of national-state, however, the source of legitimacy is based in the transnational community. The base of membership is formed by universal human rights (Soysal 1994, p.139-143). *Host states no longer have sole control over migrant populations. The governments of the sending countries and extranational organizations of various kind also hold claims vis-a-vis populations, in regard to their lives, education, welfare, family relations, and political activities* (Soysal 1994, p.144). Moreover, the receiving countries are obligated to protect migrants, and the global system obligates national states not to distinguish between nationalities in granting civil, social, and political rights (Soysal 1994, p.144). In post-national membership, membership integrates rights, duties, and loyalties (Soysal 1994, p.166), however citizenship is still constructed on the idea of belonging, in which equality of participation is indispensable (Colombo 2010, p.130). Soysal (1994) idea of post-national membership presents a largely normative case that discounts the role of states and the collective institutions, and allows to use opportunities beyond national boundaries. Therefore, it has strong implications for identification of each nation (see Section 2.3.) and organising practice of membership (Soysal 2012).

Contrary to Soysal (1994), Faist (2001*b*, 2012, 2014) does not neglect the role of local and national states. He argues that social citizenship possesses complex context, and the complexity of social citizenship is laid on dimensions of development, social politics, and the law in the EU (Faist 2000, p.4,9). Social citizenship is a multi-layer governance

notion, and so as a non linear notion, it should be examined at national and supra-national levels of social rights. Moreover, social citizenship includes ties between the citizens and the respective state, and the status of the citizen which refers to rights and duties (Faist 2001*b*, p.40-41), (Faist 2014, p.211). Citizenship cannot only be described in relation to access of rights, but also in the context of belonging, which is an important dimension of social citizenship (Faist 2001*a*, p.5). Thus, the nested citizenship can show the European social citizenship as one project, which builds an interactive system on the state and supra-state level. The cooperation of these systems is seen in the welfare governance framework, for example as: health and safety regulations, harmonisation of standards of work at the EU level, however, it also leaves power to keep the social security system in national hands, but with less sovereignty of the states than before. This idea of the nested citizenship is not limited only to the borders of the EU (Faist 2000, p.12), since *the nested citizenship encompasses all relevant levels of supra-national and national; and, potentially the regional level. The EU citizenship and nation-state citizenship complement each other* (Faist 2000).

At institutional level of membership, individuals' experiences of formal requirements and obligations are exercised transnationally together with intersectional categories. In the case of Polish migrants in the UK, they exercise their rights based on the EU regulations including civil, political, and social rights. The Polish migrants' experiences of belonging, and social and political context impact how they approach their rights and responsibilities. The EU migrants including Polish possess political rights, which grant them the possibility to vote in some elections and referendums in the country of destination (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.52). For example, the EU citizens in the UK can vote in a local but not general election. The transnational migration experiences and diverse cross-cut intersectional categories impact whether people vote and if so how they vote. Those rights similarly to civil rights are specified formally at an institutional level of belonging. Civil rights mean that the people can protect their freedom and safety and possess properties, but the rights depend on the culture e.g. in some countries not all women have rights equal to men, or do not have full freedom of speech or access to information (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.52-53) (see also intersectionality above). Regarding social and economic rights, because of different welfare systems in each member state, there are different requirements for who can access the welfare system and under what conditions. Therefore, there are the criteria of deserving and undeserving people, who are, respectively entitled and not entitled to use free social services (Esping-Andersen 1990, Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.54-55). The cultural rights characterise that *people do not suffer discriminations as a result of their different cultures in terms of access to employment or welfare provisions. It also involves collective rights in terms of issues such as*

education and the law (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.56). Finally, spatial security rights guarantee the right to enter the state territory, stay, and work there e.g. European Union. Those rights *can be seen as an important bridge between those who are citizens and those who are not but are under the control of a particular state* (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.57). Not all people have the same possibility to get all the entitlements in the same way. There are different categories (social locations), which may limit access and possibilities for some people (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, Beck et al. 1992, p.49). The rights discussed above can be acquired by migrants in the process of settlement or by being EU citizens, but possessing those rights does not mean that belonging is experienced by migrant, even if formal citizenship and rights are possessed. Those rights are transnationally regulated, however there is a complex stratification process, in which the rights are hierarchical, and based on the categories assigned to migrants e.g. being able to legitimately participate in the labour market but not being able to be with one's family; being able to move around Europe but not having the right to change jobs in Europe (Carmel & Paul 2013, p.74,78). Also, *while EU free movers undoubtedly have substantial civic and economic rights, these primarily regulate the right to move, not the right to stay* (Carmel & Paul 2013, p.75).

In consideration of social citizenship, time also plays a significant role, especially time understood as a *length of stay*. As Yuval-Davis (2011*a*) claims, the political projects of belonging are created in social and political contexts, and so the length of stay matters in the creation of political projects. The length of stay is considered at an institutional level, because migrants are granted rights based on the length of time, which they reside in the country of destination. *The length of stay is likely to affect migration processes and outcomes such as settlement and return* (Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1204). In the simplest scenario, time can be seen in a linear way with a starting point being the day of migration or permanent settlement in the receiving country. The length of stay matters especially for the political projects of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*), likewise, in a process of applying for citizenship, in which the main decision point is the length of stay. If time is too short then the migrant may not eligible to achieve citizenship status (Cinar 1994, p.56); (Golden 2002, p.20). The migrant, who wants to get a citizen status, has to engage in a set of complex practices usually defined in a linear, continuous way to become a citizen in relation to length of stay, and such a time frame can also impact upon their self-identification (Paine 1993, p.225-227); (Golden 2002, p.20). Such linearity of time could be seen in the overall process e.g. acquiring residential status in the UK is possible after staying for 5 years, and then another set of practices is required to obtain a British citizenship. In the case of the UK, the process of naturalisation takes

at least 6 years[7] (gov.uk 2018*b*), despite the fact that the requirements of length of stay for EU migrants are less stringent than non-EU migrants. Applying for citizenship looks to be a linear process but only possible when the length of stay of migrants is continuous, long enough, and all the conditions required to become citizens are fulfilled. However, the issue is to regulate belonging through control of migrants' time by the length of stay. This shows that the EU citizens' belonging is institutionally regulated in the EU, but as it will be shown in Chapter 3, it becomes challenging for more mobile migrants (Carmel & Paul 2013).

The concept of membership is well studied in the literature where belonging is presented and created at institutional level. The membership is present in the rights, obligations, and regulations, which, in turn, impart the experiences of migrants. The membership is created in complex historical, social, and political context. Therefore, intersectionality, transnationalism, and temporality have strong impacts on the creation of institutional membership. Those perspectives help to highlight that the membership as a dimension of belonging experiences is not fixed, but dynamic. There are overlapping factors and categories, which have implications for the creation of membership experiences and the politics of belonging. These factors and categories create boundaries of exclusion and inclusion, which need to be discussed more experientially than regulatory. The experiences are expressed at different levels, but one of the important levels is the individual level, which also overlaps with the collective and institutional levels, at which the boundaries exist and migrants face them routinely in daily practices (e.g. accessing the social security system, applying for citizenship, thus being defined as *us* or *them*).

2.3 Individual level: identification

Generally, identity and identification can be interpreted as the experience of how people recognise and think about themselves, simply *who I am*. The process of identification is a significant part of the phenomenon of belonging. The identification of a person is formatted and constructed in specific social, economic, and political contexts (Croucher 2003, p.38-39); (Anderson 2006, p.10). *The discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed - always 'in process'. It is not determined in the sense that it can always be 'won' or 'lost', sustained or abandoned* (Hall & Du Gay 1996, p.3). The narrative of identification has a performative perspective (Butler 1999, Bell 1999, Fortier 2000), belonging can be a repetitive practice in relation to social and cultural spaces (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, p.15), and the repetition and construction of

[7]The process is often much longer, and so 6 years will be considered the shortest possible time to get a citizenship status.

identity will have an impact on the construction of attachment (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.15-16). Identities, which exist and are created in social and political contexts, work as boundaries of inclusion and exclusion (Giddens 1991, p.75) at collective level, thus comprises experiences of *who I am and who are others*. More precisely, identities are created within discourse, so they are constructed in historical and institutional context, and they are formatted by specific practices and strategies (Hall 1996, p.4), where identities created at individual level can meet and overlap with collective and institutional levels. Therefore, identification might operate by exclusion, by producing the discourse of division between those who belong and those who do not (Butler 1999, p.20-22). I argue that identities and identification are constructed in social context and are also subject of change e.g. time. Temporality has a significant impact on the creation of identification. People can change their identity in terms of time, which they spend in different countries or cultures, or when other circumstances change over time. The identification process allows migrants to discover and create the narrative of themselves in social and political context. In the social context, the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are created and experienced by the migrants, because the identification could combine experiences with education, religion, and regions (Weaver 2001, p.240). Therefore, identification is significant in creating belonging, and identification and belonging cannot exist separately. Intersectional approach to identification helps to capture the dynamic and multidimensional nature of the process, in which prejudices, discriminations, and disadvantages are taken into account in conceptualizing a person's identification. Identity markers such as male or female, migrant or citizen, are not independent of each other, these categories overlap and show the complexity of experiences again in relation to time and context (Runyan 2018).

Identity has been explained using two main approaches: as a static concept (essentialism), or as a fluid and constantly constructed concept (constructivism). According to the essentialist approach, identity is stable and prearranged, which means that identity is independent and unchangeable. *Identity is conceptualised as an independent variable (...) [T]he loyalty and attachment to one's own national is presumed to be natural, deeply felt, even spiritual bond* (Croucher 2003, p.23)[8]. Identification processes are recognised by sharing similar characteristics between migrants or groups of common origin (Weaver 2001, p.242). Based on this approach, identity is understood as primal and unconscious (or uncontrolled), therefore it can be used to explain the behaviours or experiences of migrants (Croucher 2003, p.36-37). The alternative approach, constructivism (or social

[8]Croucher (2003) explained identification in the context of conflict and war. So the examples are given in relation to this approach, however identity is mainly understood in two ways as mentioned in the literature.

constructionist), shows the concept of identification as an ongoing process, which might never be completed (Hall & Du Gay 1996, Hall 1996, p.2); (Weaver 2001, p.242). It means that migrants might have more than one identity that changes, but they might also experience hybrid identification (Bhabha 1994). The hybridity of identity was developed to accommodate the construction of culture and identity in conditions of colonialism (Bhabha 1994, 1996, Meredith 1998). Bhabha (1994) discusses hybrid identity as a bridge between spaces, in-betweenness (Bhabha 1994, p.38);(Friedman 1994, p.10). *Celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweenness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference* (Hoogvelt 2001, Meredith 1998, p.158). Bhabha (1994) brings to attention the idea of identity as negotiable, translatable and changeable, meaning it is not fixity or binary (Bhabha 1994, 1996) as *all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity* (Rutherford 1990, p.211). Hybrid identity goes beyond binary understanding of identification and is not simply the merger of two identities (Clothier 2005). What is more, hybridity reflects on power relations, which impact on the creation of identification. It is a process of negotiating identification in the context where history, culture, and power play their role (Luke & Luke 1999, p.27). The hybrid identity is then defined *not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity* (Luke & Luke 1999, p.31). However, hybrid identity seems to be challenged by transnational perspectives and intersectionality, because hybridity negotiates two cultures emerging in a new space. This newly crafted hybrid identity can only exist with the world with the boundaries (Smith 1991, Sayegh 2008, Smith & Sparkes 2008, p.6-8), while transnationalism attempts to depreciate such boundaries.

Similarly, Probyn (2015) argues that creation of identification and belonging is a process in-between specifying that in-betweenness is more of being and belonging, belonging and longing; (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.14-15). *Surface belongings and desiring identities refuse to stand still; in-between being and longing, they compel connections, producing themselves as others. Such belonging is formulated in neither exclusionary nor inclusionary terms but in its sheer perplexity and yearning bypasses the meanness of individualized identities. Such forms of sociality, driven by desire, produce unexpected connections as they rub against each other, displaying on the surface their anteriority - the deep historicity of why, who, where, and with whom we may feel that we belong* (Probyn 2015, p.35). This shows that identification in general is complex and fluid. The complexity increases because of temporal perspectives, which might change the experiences and creation of identity. Identification is created by individuals telling and re-telling the story of themselves, showing their engagement in being and longing, and it can be

changed as their story is retold as time passes. Therefore, repetition of their own story in time could build their own identification and change it in different ways.

As explained above, identity depends on the social context and time. Time for migrants has different meanings. It can be understood and experienced as an *objective* factor in relation to calendar months and years, or as a *subjective* what and when they had an experience which impacts upon the creation of their identity. However, the experiences of *objective* and *subjective* time are individual experiences. Therefore, the same situation could have diverse outcomes in the creation of identification for different people. So, identity might change over time (White 2014*b*, Ryan & D'Angelo 2018, p.6), and transnational migration studies highlight that people consider themselves as being *here and there* by having dual identities and dual citizenships. This shows a different perspective on identity when compared to hybrid identity, because dual identity links two identities rather than creating another one. Hybrid identity creates a new identity which is in-between identity. Thinking about identity requires to consider the possibility of possessing only one identity. However, it should be acknowledged that the majority of migrants create several identities, which are linked with more than one country (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, p.11);(Vertovec 1999, p.450), because of processes and experiences related to migration. Bhabha's hybrid identity allows for in-betweenness, challenge and resistance to dominate power, and reversal of the process through disavowal, but there is no space for multiplicity. However, *we need to simultaneously attend to processes of ethnicity, gender, class and so on in order to grasp the complexities of the social world and the multifaceted nature of social identities and advantages/disadvantages. What is common to the approach is that it posits that each division involves an intersection with the others* (Yuval-Davis & Anthias 1992, Collins 2009, Crenshaw 1989, Anthias 2012, p.106). Inclusion of intersectionality in the consideration of identity creation allows people to be placed in contradictory locations. It is worthwhile to consider a perspective of boundaries such as intersectional approach, in which the priority is given to attending to the diverse social structures and processes producing social positions and identities (Anthias 2012, p.106). The intersectionality concept should be considered as a social process *related to practices and arrangements, giving rise to particular forms of positionality for social actors. There is also a construction of 'contradictory locations' (where dominant and subordinate ones intersect) (...) thus placing actors as subordinate in some times and places and more dominant in others* (Anthias 2012, p.107). Finally, intersectionality similarly as transnationalism poses a challenge to the idea of hybrid identity, because it shows that identification is shaped by social locations and characteristics that can ameliorate, exacerbate or in some way shape identification, whereas the hybridity concept seems not to capture this complexity.

In practice, identification is mainly experienced at individual level, however it is also created in relation to others, therefore it is overlapping with collective (see Section 2.4. on attachment) and institutional levels (see Section 2.2. on membership). The process of construction of identification is created during the life course (Giddens 1991, p.81). Identification is understood as a process, which is created through contacts (Ryan et al. 2009, p.359-360), which means that identity is generated through social relations and the spaces and places of the migrants (Keith & Pile 2004, p.28). Identity is, therefore, malleable, as is created in relation to others by looking at own identity in the eyes of others, so it is created in dialogue with others, it engages not only individuals but also collectives (Bakhtin 1984). The temporality of stay creates a base for interactions between the migrants and locals. The migrants can be necessitated to think about the temporality of their migration by hearing frequently questions such as *how long have you been in here?* (Golden 2002, Morrison et al. 2003, p.9).

Migrants, who might be seen as foreigners in their country of destination, may often hear a simple question about the time frame of migration, and such a question could impact migrants' experiences of identification and belonging and the practice of acquiring attachments. Therefore, identification is described through stories and narratives, which are re-told by individuals to individuals (in this particular case of transnational migration, migrants to other migrants or their social networks). Identification can be seen as inclusive or exclusive depending on the context and social capital. *If social capital is understood in terms of 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' then clearly there is the potential for privileged access for some and denial of access for others* (Putnam 2001, p.19);(Brough et al. 2006, p.397). Putnam (2001) shows two types of social networks: bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital is present in more homogeneous groups (Putnam 2001, p.22);(Weller 2010). *It is found among densely connected groups with strong, affective ties connecting group members to each other, and is important in providing social support and increasing in-group solidarity* (Agnitsch et al. 2006, p.39). This type of social network is mainly identified among family members, neighbourhoods, or local communities. It becomes a challenge to keep bonding ties in transnational perspective where the ties become looser because of the physical distance and less frequent contact. In contrast, bridging social capital describes the networks that link together migrants that are more heterogeneous. *Bridging social capital is crucial in acquiring a wider variety of resources and enhancing information diffusion within and between groups* (Agnitsch et al. 2006, p.39). Therefore, in migration experiences, it seems to be easier to build bonding networks with co-ethnic groups based on similarities in culture, norms, and behaviours. This form of ties can create niche economies especially for minorities, in which solidarity and trust

are important, but bonding can also limit development of the potential of the group members (Leonard 2004, p.929). The weaker ties are presented as bridging social capital; the ties exist between migrants (individuals) outside of the communities (Bloom et al. 2018, p.212). However, this approach has been criticised as a romanticized and simplistic perspective on community (Brough et al. 2006, Leonard 2004, p.406).

In migrants' communities, social networks are more complex, even if bonding social networks seem to be seen as adding more cohesion to the community, they can also be a precondition for effective bridging social networks. Bonding are also important in self-identification, which subsequently can help in equal interaction (Hopkins 2011, p.534). Some scholars e.g. (Reynolds 2007, p.62) have made use of the idea of bonding and bridging capital to make sense of identification. This shows that identification at individual level can overlap with attachment at more collective levels. *The space between bonding and bridging social capital is occupied by a strong but regularly contested identity* (Putnam 2001). The in-betweenness similarly to hybrid identity is seen as a space where identification is contested and created. The diverse types of social networks can be used to define and shape individuals' identity and re-affirmation of self (Weller 2010). This draws attention to the importance of negotiating insider and outsider relations, and the micro-practices of maintaining transnational life, but it narrows the discussion about identification. Identification is more complex, because of intersectionality, temporality, and transnationalism. Putnam (2001) defines diversity quite simplistically, by using mainly ethnicity and race, which do not include other complex intersectional dimensions, which impacting the creation and shaping of an individual's identity. In social networks, the creation of identification is seen as dimensions of power (Hopkins 2011, p.536). Furthermore, the complexity of identification is also seen in relation to transnationalism, which adds extra dimension to the consideration of identification. Transnationalism for migrants offers more opportunities to build new social networks by bonding and bridging transnationally (Weller 2010, p.876). These perspectives on identification are seen in temporal dimensions by impacting when and where identification is created and shaped by migrants and by social networks and through telling their story. Those stories or narratives represent who the migrants are. Story telling by migrants does not necessary include explicit statements of their identification, but their story explicitly or implicitly links them as members of a particular group or collective e.g. a person can be a member of both a religious group and a political party, and be a parent of a child (thus a member of a family). Those stories are produced from generation to generation. Identification relates to the past as it functions like a myth of origin, an explanation of the present, and a projection of the future trajectory (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.14-18).

Creation of identity is a complex and dynamic process, at first glance, identification seems to be experienced only at individual level because it is related to an individual identity, but it actually overlaps with collective and institutional levels, because discourse is related to existing experiences of self and with others through e.g. social networks (collective) and the boundaries created in membership experiences (institutional). Creation of identity is cross-cut by intersectional categories, transnational, and temporal perspectives.

2.4 Collective level: attachment

Recent work on belonging has focused on questions of emotional security and attachment to places and people. In particular, Grzymala-Kazlowska (2017) has argued that the creation of attachments is important for migrants to build their emotional security, which is often linked with a safe place (e.g. home) and thinking of the future (Ignatieff 2010, Hage 2012). Footholds are often migrants' emotional attachments to objects of attachments, which migrants choose and which provide the feeling of safety (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, Janeta 2011, p.253). *The concept of anchoring embraces the divided and multiple attachments of contemporary transnational migrants as well as the flexibility of current immigrants, many of whom adopt a strategy of intentional unpredictability* (Eade et al. 2006, p.1134). Through the concept of social anchoring, it is shown that when migrants experience emotional security, they often feel adapted to the new society. However, it needs to be highlighted that those experiences might be fluid, and migrants could change their emotional attachments. In social anchoring, the process of attachment is shown to be dynamic with the need for stability playing a significant role (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Self-identification is created socially and culturally in ontological security (Giddens 1991, p.54-55). Social anchoring is important in the era of globalisation where membership, identity, and attachment seem to be fluid. In this concept, Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016) captures migrants' need for a foothold in constantly changing words, which gives them a feeling of emotional security and is significant for their identification and attachment. Therefore, in the concept of anchoring, attention is paid to psycho-social adaptation. Identity and security are incorporated in the process of adaptation. Identity enables analysis of the relationship between individuals and society, and shows the meaning of security for individuals by possessing footholds (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, p.1124-1125). *A working definition of anchoring refers to the process of finding significant reference: grounded points which allow migrants to restore their socio-psychological stability in new life settings. The anchors people use allow them to locate their place in their world, give form to their*

own sense of being and provide them with a base for psychological and social functioning (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, p.1131).

The concept of anchoring refers to diverse types of anchors, which can be established to external and internal objects, thus Grzymala-Kazlowska (2017) argues that social anchoring needs to be considered more broadly. The concept takes consideration of objective elements, which are also discussed in this chapter (see Section 2.2. on membership). It shows that the institutional level (legal status and documents) is important for creating a foothold. What is more, social anchors are also economic (properties, financial resources), spatial (a place of birth), environmental (a place of residence), emotional and symbolic (love), as well as other materials, which are not related to financial resources (photos, body, behaviours). Internal and subjective anchors are linked with values, memories, beliefs, social identifications (family roles or being migrants), and social structures and groups of belonging (real or imaginary). There are also anchors, which can relate to culture such language or norms. On the one hand, anchors can be a mix of these different types. The anchors can be created in the country of destination, or are transferred from the country of origin. From a transnational perspective, the anchors can link experiences and practices from both countries. Moreover, the anchors can change over time, therefore, anchoring is a dynamic and complex process. The anchors can be treated as stabilisers for migrants. By anchoring, the migrants have footholds, which connect them with the country of destination and the country of origin (transnationally) (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, p.1131). Connection with the home country can be via remittances and support sent to family members, or making investments, while connection to the destination country can be created through active contribution to the state by paying taxes, voting, and participating in the labour market (Guarnizo et al. 2003, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, p.145). Migrants' activity can also vary i.e. some migrants are only active participants in their homeland, even though they live in the other country. There is also an opposite type of migrant, who is only an active participant in their receiving country (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, p.130). However, often migrants' lives become more transnational and cross-border. *People live in and create a new social and cultural space, which calls for a new awareness of who they are, a new consciousness, and new identities. However, both actors and analysts still look around them with a vision shaped by political boundaries of nation-states* (Schiller et al. 1992*a*, p.14). Migrants might identify themselves and feel attached with both a country of origin and a country of destination.

According to Levitt & Jaworsky (2007), transnationalism has a broader meaning because it takes into consideration not only cross-border activities, but also specific sit-

uations, individuals habits, families, and ethnic groups. It is therefore more than institutional level, in which requirements determine formal belonging, or individual level in which someone could self-identify with places or people. It also includes collective level, in which other people and groups impact upon the construction of attachment in a transnational perspective. Moreover, it also involves consideration of being and belonging by migrants, which impacts on identity, attachment, and other aspects of life for each individual migrant. *Transnationalism as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement* (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, p.1-2). Migrants develop and maintain multiple relations: family, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that can span state borders. Migrants take actions, make decisions, feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, p.1-2). This concept shows the significance of a transnational perspective when discussing attachments, because anchors can be transferred from the country of origin. Those experiences become more present in the processes of belonging because migrants are mobile and have transnational experiences, and their strategies of creating attachments are unpredictable (Eade et al. 2006). It is a negotiation process, which is not linear and binary. The anchors might be important for migrants' needs of belonging, relationships and life, and as a consequence, failure to possess such attachments or footholds could cause feelings of social isolation, alienation, and loneliness. Thus, a sense of belonging and possessing emotional attachments is not only a precursor to social connectedness but also a factor against loneliness (Mellor et al. 2008, p.213). It shows the importance of transnational experiences in the discussion of belonging (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, p.142). Transnationalism emphasises a lack of boundaries in social life (Kofman 2004*b*, p.648). *To conceptualize transnationalism we must bring to the study of migration a global perspective* (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, p.19).

Social anchoring shows how important the feeling of emotional safety is to the process of adaptation. This need for safety is one of the most basic human needs, it becomes essential in the creation of anchoring as (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017, p.1127) argues that it is a key factor for belonging experiences. This however raises a question whether a migrant could experience belonging if does not feel emotionally secure or safe? The concept of social anchoring highlights that this need is significant in creating anchors, so migrants can build a sense of belonging if they feel safe (Ignatieff 2010). The migrants want to find stability in unpredictable world and times. It is likely that the meaning and understanding of stability can be diverse for every migrant as each migrant has individual needs. I argue that identification is created in relation to attachment, and the coherence between identification and membership is desired by migrants. However,

such coherence may sometimes be unachievable, so identification and attachment should be analysed separately to capture such potential incoherence and dynamic related to it.

Additionally, to understand attachment as a dimension of belonging, I follow the concept of differentiated embedding[9], which presents a dynamic and changing process of migrants' attachment over time. The concept refers to individual's position in the society who feels a sense of belonging (Davids & Houte 2008, p.174);(Ryan 2018*b*, p.235). This concept captures the diversity and degree of social networks in places e.g. household, workplace, neighbourhood, and community. The process of embedding can be presented in spatial, structural, and relational dimensions (Ryan 2018*b*, p.232). Migrants can negotiate their belonging and attachment as they become more embedded in their career and gain professional knowledge in one country more than in another. Therefore, the migrants, who might come to the country of destination for a short-time or an unspecified period, might extend their time in the country of destination because of the embedding process. This means that length of stay can sustain embedding. Migrants' embedding process can be done via relations to others, so by means of social networks, which can facilitate embedding in a new place (Ryan 2018*b*, p.241-242). The migrants' embedding process, in light of temporal perspective, might be explained by an example of Polish migrants in Norway given in Friberg (2012). The migrants' temporalities could differ, from an initial point in which everything is centred around getting any temporary work; then moving to so-called transnational commuting, where the return to the country of origin is an open-ended option; and finally leading to the last point, in which the migrants settle permanently. This follows the linearity of temporality of membership at institutional level of belonging, but it is also possible to experience an entirely non-linear process. This could occur for the case when the length of stay does not constitute *more belonging* or could push migrants to reject or lose belonging because length of stay is spatial, relational, and dynamic. Those different temporalities are related to both: the labour market opportunities available for migrants, and the migrants' embedding process of transnational social networks (Friberg 2012, p.1601-1603). Additionally, the migrants, when making their decision to migrate, could also predefine the length of their migration and time they are willing to stay in the country of destination (see Chapter 5). *Some people had a clear, short-term aim, for example, completing a programme of study in Britain, or saving enough money to return to Poland, and undertake a specific project such as building a house. Others had long-term aims based on permanent settlement. Most were uncertain about how long they would remain in Britain and when or even if they would return to Poland* (Ryan et al. 2009,

[9]The concept of embedding was created by Ryan, L. and Mulholland, J. (Ryan & Mulholland 2015)

p.74-75). Time (the length of stay) is present in the migrants' decision-making process and their motivations to migrate. Therefore, it would influence their approach and experiences of attachment and belonging. Moreover, the migrants, who want to return to their country of origin, cherish a myth of a positive return (White 2011*a*), and so they do not remember experiences of disappointment and challenges in their country of origin (White 2011*b*, 2014*a*, p.75);(Bygnes & Erdal 2017, p.108);(Carling et al. 2015, p.3). The migrants, who extend their stay in the country of destination, could still keep their thoughts about returning to the country of origin alive (see Chapter 5). Therefore, such migrants can easily settle in mobility (White 2014*b*, p.73), which means they have been some-how *stuck* in a transnational life by being here and there forever. Settling in mobility might be a diverse experience both positive and negative. On the one hand, it could be experienced as a challenge, because migrants do not actually feel they belong anywhere. On the other hand, it could be also positive as migrants could feel free and not pushed into categories and boundaries created in context. Mobile migrants, who are settled in mobility, could undergo embedding in their own defined position, and thus feel a sense of belonging. Being mobile migrant can be an individual experience, and as the consequence of migration affects migrants, it might change them. Migrants, after return from migration, could experience difficulties when they are trying to re-settle in their country of origin, because they might not be the same people (e.g. have new expectations) that they were when they migrated.

In some cases, migrants might not define their length of stay, and such uncertainty could influence the migration process too. The unpredictable and unexpected life course does not necessarily allow migration to be experienced in a linear way. Some migrants might treat their migration experience as time out. Therefore, such migrants could avoid or postpone making serious life decisions e.g. getting married, until they return from emigration (Griffiths et al. 2013, p.29). Such migrants might experience time either as periodisation, or as the preset time frame, which is important for their future. Thus, the length of stay in the country of destination can be considered as time to survive and sacrifice ongoing life e.g. by saving money to build a house or to pay debts. From this perspective, migration is interpreted as time to improve the migrants' future living condition (Griffiths et al. 2013, p.6-7), (see Chapter 5).

For example, in Vogel (2006), the Polish working migrants were analysed based on two dimensions: the intended duration of stay and family ties. The presented findings showed that the migrants might be classified into four groups: 1) Oriented on returning, who have strong focus on their home country; 2) Wishing to settle long-term or permanently in the destination country and having strong ties with the destination

country (emigrants/immigrants); 3) Oriented on bi-nationality, so they have ties in both countries (transnational migrants); 4) Oriented internationally, and focused on work opportunities (global nomads). That research confirms that the length of stay and the types of attachments such as family ties, are significant to differentiate the migrants' experiences (Vogel 2006, p.273-275).

In terms of uncertainty in the migration processes, times of transnationalism and globalisation add also risks and unpredictability to the migrants' experiences which do not help them feel safe and secure. In particular, uncertainty is highlighted in forced migration, where a lack of stability is part of daily-life.

Additionally, the length of stay plays crucial role in the process of belonging; time, which migrants stay in the country of destination can impact their experiences of attachment and integration (Janeta 2011, p.255). Even if a formal process of belonging (membership) seems to be linear in requirements, it is not necessary linear in personal migrants' experiences. Time is a complex experience and includes mainly personal (the migrant) experiences and approaches to migration (Griffiths 2014). From the migrants' perspective, migration might be a process ending in settlement, but could also be seen as time out, or a length of time with some interruptions (see Chapter 3). Temporal perspectives have an impact on the identification process and attachment e.g. to family in the country of origin, because the reason for migration and time which migrants have spent abroad also have an impact on their social networks.

The importance of social networks in migrants' experiences of belonging is highlighted in existing concepts such as the politics of belonging and social embedding. Social networks could have diverse meanings. For the purpose of my research, I follow a definition of social networks provided by White & Ryan (2008). Social networks include all people relevant to the migrants' lives such as family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and neighbours. Additionally, social networks can be divided into two levels of support: informal and formal social support. During this work, I focus more on informal support as *Poles traditionally have relied heavily on informal*[10] *networks of all kinds* (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468). As widely recognised in migration studies, in almost all cases, migrants maintain various forms of contacts and objects of attachments in their country of origin (Vertovec 2001, p.574) and in the country of destination. What is more, *newer, cheaper, and more efficient modes of communication and transportation allow migrants to maintain transnationally effectively both 'here' and 'there' - their*

[10]Poles widely used their informal networks especially during communist regime in Soviet-occupied Poland. As a consequence, Poles might trust more friends than state institutions (Buchowski 1996, p.84-85); (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468).

originally home-based relationships and interests. Transnational connections have considerable economic, socio-cultural and political impacts on migrants, their families and collective groups, and the dual (or more!) localities in which they variably dwell (Vertovec 2001, p.574-575). Putnam (2001) presents a more static and binary understanding of social networks, while Ryan (2018*a*) discusses the degree of social networks, which are experienced by migrants. Social networks play an important role in the creation of emotional attachments, which are part of the belonging experience and have an impact on decisions about migration and return (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468), searching for employment and accommodation opportunities, practical knowledge about the country of destination, child care (Salaff & Greve 2004, p.150);(Ryan et al. 2009, p.71), and emotional support (Boyd 1989, p.651); (Ryan et al. 2009, p.63).

Firstly, social networks have implications for the migration process: an initial decision to migrate and the duration of stay (White & Ryan 2008, p.1467). The existing research with Polish migrants highlighted the importance of social networks for migrants, who decided to return to their country of origin. The social networks that migrants have been frequently established transnationally. On the one hand, Ryan et al. (2009) research shows that Poles, who have arrived to the UK, might still possess complex social networks in the UK and in Poland. These can show where the migrants have their attachments. And so, the migrants do not want to lose their existing connections in Poland because they feel emotionally attached to their family members e.g. ageing parents (Ryan et al. 2009, p.74);(Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, p.209);(Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1213), dependent children (Ryan & Sales 2013, p.100), and such connections could then be an influencing factor for migrants' decision to return to their homeland (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468). On the other hand, migrants could have less contact with friends and family in their country of origin because of less frequent visits to Poland (Morosanu 2013, p.359); (Koelet et al. 2017, p.444), (see Chapter 3). Social networks have an important role in migration decisions, but it needs to be emphasised that the process of migration and creation of belonging is not stable and can be changed over time. Migrants might not be aware of what has changed in their own identity until they experience it, for example, when they return to the country of origin. In such cases, the changes become noticeable to them, and they look for the place where they could feel at home again.

Secondly, research conducted on Polish migrants points out that social networks in the UK, consisting of friends and members of the family who have already lived in the UK, are crucial to receive the necessary social support important for the attachment dimension of belonging. For example, to receive relevant information about the challenges of

migration, health care, and social services available in the country of destination (Boyd 1989, p.651); (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468); (Ryan et al. 2009, p.63). This helps new migrants to be better equipped for migration, and they do not experience some of the challenges that were experienced by those who did not have such social ties (Ryan et al. 2009, p.69). Migrants with strong social networks can create their belonging in relation to strong attachment experiences.

Thirdly, social networks can work as a practical way to provide the necessary support e.g. child care. In the case of Polish migration, grandmothers in the country of origin often help to take care of their grandchildren in the destination country (Ryan et al. 2009, p.71). The term *flying grandmothers* was coined to present the migrants' strategies in the transnational context to provide care (Nesteruk & Marks 2009);(Zontini 2004). The grandmothers come to the UK to look after their grandchildren and often this could be seen as a mutual benefit for both sides. Some grandmothers lived alone in Poland (since their children migrated to the UK), and their children have someone to provide child care. This example shows transnational social networks, which also has an impact on the decision to stay or return. The migrants, who receive significant support from a member of the family in child care in their country of destination, might not need to return to their country of origin (see Chapter 6), and create their experiences of belonging in the country of destination by also securing the basic need of feeling secure.

Fourthly, social networks have had an important role in the context of emotional support and belonging to the community and so creating the experiences of attachment. During the migration process, migrants are often placed among other migrants in the country of destination. They work or live in close proximity, thus social location places migrants among other migrants (Ryan et al. 2009, p.374); (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). They often live in a co-ethnic environment, and do shopping in shops that sell products from their country of origin. The co-ethnic neighbourhood gives the migrants a sense of belonging, but Hunt et al. (2008) argued that migrants are not completely closed to the other ethnic groups but they seem to be too busy to engage in the local non-ethnic communities.

Intersectional perspective is important in terms of creating social networks between Polish migrants because cultural and ethnic similarities do not necessarily bring consistency into the experiences of attachment and social networks on collective levels. Migrants look and build their social networks and attachments differently, and also have their own prejudice and assumptions which cross-cut: behaviour, outfit, and ac-

cent[11] can affect how and where the migrants belong (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.12-13) and experience belonging even more significantly on collective level (see Section 2.3). Some social categories such as gender, stage in life cycle, ethnicity, and class seem to impact upon most people's life in most social locations, whereas others impact upon fewer people e.g. disability (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, p.9). *Requisites of belonging that relate to 'ascriptive' social locations – origin, 'race', place of birth – would be the most racialized and the least permeable. Language, culture, and sometimes religion are more open to a voluntary, often assimilatory, identification with particular collectives* (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, p.21). However, for the same ethnic group, all social categories can impact on belonging experiences (see Chapters 3, 5, 6, 7). Therefore, to have comprehensive understanding of the experiences of attachment, an intersectional lens is required. Such a lens does not exclude those whose experience seems to be less significant, because power processes in the construction of attachment in the community also change over time and context and *in different historical moments, different systems of stratification tend to give differential weight to different intersectional categories of locations and axis of power and they might operate in many different ways* (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, p.13).

Moreover, as attachment can be shaped through social networks, it should also be acknowledged that some migrants do not have sufficient language capacities to even think about engaging with other non-ethnic relations. Therefore, they implicitly avoid contacts with native-born and other non-Polish migrants. This ghettoization might give them at least a minimal level of experience of belonging and emotional security within the migrants' co-ethic community, because such a community is based on ethnic ties and products, which they are familiar with. Moreover, migrants do not actively participate in the local (British) community (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). They show a rather defensive engagement with it. Migrants rely on ethnic ties, because they do not have many non-ethnic social networks in the country of destination (Nee & Sanders 2001, p.389);(Koelet et al. 2017, p.445). Some migrants could not build their non-ethnic social network, because they do not have language capacity. So, being able to improve language skills for migrants could help them to build their sense of independence and belonging to the new place, they might have basic interactions in wider social spaces not only related to co-ethnic communities. Possessing language knowledge helps people to feel more confident and feel a sense of settlement (Wessendorf 2015, p.16-17). Social networks, therefore, can help to create a community, attachment as a dimension of belonging, and to settle abroad (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468), so the migrants might create their belonging experiences at collective level.

[11]There are currently identified five dialect in Poland: Greater Polish, Lesser Polish, Masovian, Silesian, and Kashubian (Hellinger & Motschenbacher 2015)

It is important to consider belonging as a complex and multidimensional notion, further being cross-cut by other factors, and affected by wider social features of life. The experiences of belonging are personal, regulated, and not fixed.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented that belonging is experienced at institutional, collective, and individual levels, however this is not a linear and straightforward process. The experiences of belonging are complex and multidimensional, and the dimensions of belonging (membership, identification, and attachment) overlap. Therefore, to fully present the complexity and dynamic experiences of belonging, all dimensions need to be included in the analysis.

The membership dimension (institution level) is not experienced in a stable and coherent way. The migrants experience membership by facing the politics of belonging which, by creating regulations, requirements, obligations, and rights, impact on the citizens and non-citizens life. The experience of belonging at institutional level depends on the historical and political context. The changes in the countries in relation to diverse cross-cut intersectional categories shape the experiences of belonging. The intersectional categories are often: power, class, and gender, but should not be limited to these only, because social reality is more complex and dynamic, therefore it is too simplistic to define the categories, which impact the creation of membership and belonging experiences in advance. Moreover, transnationalism plays an important role in the discussion of membership experiences. Transnationalism brings a new perspective, in which membership is understood on supra-national level, and regulations and rights are not only based on the territory of the state but are transcending national boundaries. Finally, membership is controlled and regulated at institutional level in temporal perspective. The state controls, who can become citizens by providing requirements that need to be fulfilled by migrants. The length of stay can be a barrier to exercise full rights for mobile migrants, who cannot fulfil the requirements of time for citizenship or social rights.

The dimension of identification shows that the creation of identity is seen as a more complex and dynamic process, in which migrants' experiences intersect and create the new identities. The migrants might experience hybrid identity by negotiating and constructing new space for their identification, or migrants might possess dual identification. The importance of a transnational perspective to the process of identification is presented in the literature because it opens the possibility to negotiate identification, which is

created in at least two places. A temporal perspective is also important in shaping the migrants experiences of belonging. The temporal perspective does not bring liberality to the creation of identification. A longer stay does not mean a greater sense of belonging and stronger identification. The creation of identification is more complex and does not exist separately from the other two dimensions: membership and attachment.

The dimension of attachment shows that the emotional need for stability and safety is part of the experience of belonging. Migrants build their own footholds in different spaces and places. Those footholds are the migrants' objects of attachment, which give them a sense of belonging and being attached. What it means to feel safe could be actually experienced differently. This differentiation could help to understand where and when migrants feel safe and how important their need for security is to create belonging. Moreover, in the creation of attachment, strong social networks exist as they can be transnational and provide emotional and daily-life support. The differentiations and changes in social networks, as part of attachment experiences, are also based on a temporal perspective, which changes migrants' ties with their family and friends. However, general assumption cannot be made about, which networks become less or more significant for the migrants because creation of attachment is complex.

To explore how belonging is experienced by Polish migrants, it is important to take into consideration the multidimensionality of the experiences of belonging: membership, identification, and attachment, and the experiences of belonging at institutional, individual, and collective levels.

Chapter 3

The notion of belonging in empirical research context

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the existing literature on empirical studies related to the experiences of belonging of Polish migrants is discussed. While the presented literature review shows that a plethora of research on Central and Eastern European (CEE) migration has been conducted, it also identifies a research gap regarding the concept of belonging, limiting our understanding of experiences of the belonging and the social citizenship. In this chapter, I mainly focus on Polish migrants, but to extend and support some of my arguments about experiences of belonging by Polish migrants, I also use wider migration literature including studies on other CEE migrants.

In the first section of this chapter, I highlight the significance of the motivation to migrate of the Polish migrants, and the time perspective in the consideration of the experiences of belonging. The motivation of migration is important to consider in this thesis, as it shows the migrants' approach the migration, and simultaneously it uncovers the dominant factors for the migrants to make the decision of changing the country of residence. The social networks might impact the migrants' experiences of attachment and change over time, so time plays also a role in the creation of the attachments of the migrants to the country of destination and the country of origin. The transnational social networks are presented from a perspective of the current technological advances in telecommunication, evidently helping to stay in contact between migrants and non-migrants among younger and older generations. Furthermore, I discuss the experiences

of attachments other than social networks i.e. language, and behaviours. Intriguingly, the attachment of the Polish migrants to other Poles via social networks is often significant, but at the same time, they can distance themselves from other Polish migrants by presenting them in a negative way. In the last section, I analyse the literature about the experiences of Polish migrants in the context of transnational social membership. The fragmented data from national statistics and a limited empirical research provides a sparse picture of practices of exercising social rights by Polish migrants. Finally, I discuss the challenges in understanding the citizenship in the transnational perspective. The approaches describing understanding who are the good citizens, are often contradictory, and those are not neutral for the migrants, which commonly face the challenges how they are recognised or classified in a new society.

3.2 Significance of motivations of migration

One could say that every migration story is unique, and so every migrant could be considered to have a personalised list of reasons to migrate, but, in general, the most common reasons to migrate can be broadly categorised into employment opportunities or needs. From a social science perspective, the motivations of migration can be grouped into different clusters including education, need to experience adventure, or change of lifestyle (King 2002, Kilkey et al. 2014, p.89)[12];(Koelet et al. 2017, p.442), career opportunities, romantic relationship (Favell 2008), disadvantageous life circumstances such as debts or unemployment in the country of origin (Ryan et al. 2009, p.70). I argue that the type of the motivations is important in the differentiation of the migrants' experiences of belonging.

After the EU enlargement in 2004, there has been a rapid growth of research studies conducted on Central and Eastern European (CEE) migration, which indicated that a main reason of migration is based on employment opportunities in the old EU countries. The increased wave of migration has been explained by the opening of borders, and by this, job markets for the CEE members of EU. The scale of migration to the old EU countries is explained by higher wages, and overall deficit of low and high skilled-workers (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.209). Thus, needs were mutual: the CEE migrants wanted to

[12]Kilkey's research is done only on small sample of 22 interviews with the Polish fathers in London.

find better-paid employment[13] (i.e. considering high unemployment rate in Poland in the late 90s, and the beginning of 2000s hitting above 20% [2004]), and the UK (and Ireland) wanted to fill the gap in the labour market with the cheap, unskilled and low-skilled migrants. The free movement based flow of migrants in the EU had impacted on the labour migration policies e.g. the EU member states limited the migration from outside the EU prioritising the free movers (Paul 2013, p.122-123), and targeted the access of the works outside the EU based on qualifications, skills, language capacity, and earning (Paul 2013, p. 128). Thus, the migration within the EU and to the EU became linked by the respective policies limiting immigration outside[14] the EU and the EU free movement regime (Paul 2013, p.135-136).

Among the migrants motivated in their decision about migration based on employment, there is a group of migrants, who highlight migration as their last chance option, otherwise they would be unemployed in their country of origin. The primary factor, which encourages migration, is a poverty, however at the same time, the poverty could be also a factor, which keeps the worker in the country of origin because of lack of the resources to migrate. The migration is higher when the development of the country and the poverty are correlated, so people have at least minimal amount of financial resources to migrate (Van Hear et al. 2012, p.4-7). The existing gap in income between old and new EU countries is significant for the migrants, therefore it seems worthwhile to migrate and work abroad for the migrants from the CEE states (Lutz 2016, p.248). Moreover, among the migrants highlighting the significance of employment in the migration decision, there is the group of migrants, who look for better career prospects than they could find in the country of origin.

In contrast, there are also other motivations to migrate e.g. romantic relationships. The romantic affairs as a reason of migration is often related to informal relationships between migrants. The migrants meet in the country of destination, or they were in romantic relationship before one of them decided to migrate, and then the other person joins. If the partners split up, the former partners often do not decide to return to the country of origin, because they might already have job in the country of destination,

[13] As a consequence, the migrants often experienced a deskilling process (Kofman 2012, p.70). The deskilling process could be described as taking a job offer in different (less favourable financially) sector than the person was trained, or working on the position below the possessed qualifications (Kofman 2012, p.69). Both scenarios could be observed in the EU migrants' experiences. At the beginning, the majority of the skilled migrants experienced a drop of employment status, but it has been also observed that mobility could help migrants to find employment in the country of destination relevant to their qualification (Mouhoud 2010, p.408-409).

[14] It is interesting that more investments are done to the integration of the workers from the countries outside the EU, because it is predicted that they might stay longer than more mobile EU citizens (Collett 2013, p.1).

and they could have grown accustomed to the new society (Favell 2011, p.69-73).

The family status and family situation could be considered as an another reason for migration. The migrants, who do not have family responsibilities, present different approach to migration process than those who have family responsibilities, they have different motivation to stay or return. If the members of the family live in the different countries, then the members of the family can seek an opportunities to reunite often in the country of destination. Lutz (2016, p.246) presents the series of biographical interviews with two groups: Ukrainian migrants who migrate to Poland, and Polish migrants working in Germany. In both cases, women are presented as care workers in the country of destination, and they left families in the countries of origin. When one member of the family migrates then other members of the family often attempts to reunite (Favell 2011, p.73-74). How and when the family decides to reunite in one of the countries depends on the family and the employment situation. The research on Portuguese women shows that women decided to join the partner often after a few months, especially if they have children who attend school in the country of origin. The period of remaining in the country of origin is extended to enable completion of school term (Perista 2014, p.155-156). According to Perista (2014, p.154), women's decision about migration is considered with the respect of partners' employment or their career prospects. The motivation to migrate is often directed through to economic situation in both countries: the host and the receiving (Perista 2014, p.155). The women could justify their migration decision by following their partners, but it overlapped with the women's dilemmas of taking care of children. The women *'share a common belief that the mother-child relationship has primacy over all other and that no other care person, neither father nor other mothers can replace a mother adequately; that the emotional relationship with one's own child has a special quality which is not substitutable; and that the well-being of children comes first and thus takes priority'* (Lutz 2016, p.253). Furthermore, women, who follow their partners, could experience barriers to develop their own careers[15] (Perista 2014, p.159-160). There are also examples of care chain of the female migrants (also male but in a small number (Kilkey 2010)). The notion of care chain was coined by Hochschild (2000) to present the migrants' strategy to provide care for their children or elderly members of the family in the country of destination for the time of the migration by leaving care responsibilities for members of the family in the country of origin (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012, p.16). The motivation of the family (reunification) migration or distance between family members because of migration are

[15]It is important to highlight that women were often active on labour market, but Polish mothers often consider taking care of children and did not return to work at least for one year (Ryan et al. 2009, p.68).

consistent among Portuguese and other migrants in some of the EU countries (Favell 2008). The members of family commonly agree to migrate, or to follow their partners to improve the family financial situations.

Furthermore, it is broadly presumed in public discourse that the significant part of the EU migration is motivated by so-called a *social tourism* (Nicholas 2013, Carmel & Sojka 2018). However, the recent studies do not confirm such public and political presumptions. For example, the research conducted among the Polish migrants in Ireland shows that the migration was not motivated by the social protection strategy (Moriarty et al. 2016, p.208), and *social tourism* is more a myth spread between migrants and non-migrants, who are not necessary knowledgeable about the eligibility criteria, even for the most common social benefits. The diverse motivations of migration are significant for the belonging analyses, because the migrants' motivation might impact on their experiences of identification, attachment, and membership, so on their experiences of transnational belonging.

Finally, the motivation might be also related to the age of migrants. The younger migrants have been seen as those who migrated to continue their education, live their adventure (e.g. a gap year), gain professional experience to improve their career prospects, and follow romantic relationships. Some of younger migrants are already highly skilled migrants and single when they make the decision of migration. Thus, such highly skilled workers could easily move from one country to another, because they have skills and resources to cope with new challenges, while they do not have a family commitments (Mouhoud 2010, p.408-409). The highly skilled migrants are often mobile migrants, and those migrants are called *Eurostars* by Favell (2011). They are free to move, and they follow the arising career opportunities, which they might not experience in their country of origin (Favell 2011, p.63). The character of the *Euro Cities*[16] encourages young professionals to focus on their career, to be on the run, and as a consequence, such a dynamic environment does not encourage settlement. However, it was found that at a certain age, the migrants with children could consider children as a push factor to settle down (Favell 2011, p.112). The mobile migrants seemed to be special people who easily move from one place to another, live there (or more precisely stay there), experience new place, and then move again (Favell 2011, p.105). The *Eurostar* migrants use the opportunities created in the *Euro Cities* to progress quickly their career (Favell 2011, p.229). However, being professional migrants could also cause some barriers to move freely between countries as some skills (or certifications) are not easily transferable be-

[16]The *Euro Cites* – the biggest European cities, Favell points out the three main Euro Cities European cities: London, Amsterdam, and Brussels.

tween different national regulation systems. Thus, some moves could slow down their career development as in the case of psychologists (Ryan 2018*a*, p.240); (Erel & Ryan 2018, p.12). The motivation of migration might be different if the migrants (workers) possess the set of skills, which are inconsistently recognised in the country of destination e.g. lawyers or psychologists as written above. The possession of professional skills, which are mostly acquired through the educational process, are seen as the ultimate goal of modern society. Thus, the highly skilled workers are seen in the society as those, who have rights to demand higher than average salaries, because they are so called *desired* migrants[17] (Kofman 2013, p.580). At the same time, a set of skills related to domestic and care work, that *'have been picked up rather than acquired'* (Kofman 2013, p.580) are not so favourably regarded in the society, similarly as the migrants who undertake such jobs. *The less-skilled (female) migrant is embedded in the messy world of familial networks, obligations, remittances and support for those left behind. Broadening the labour process to encapsulate the emotional dimension is also reserved for female migration but is apparently absent amongst male migrants* (Kofman 2013, p.580-581). Therefore, the migrants' workers might experience inequality in the EU, the migrants might be treated more or less favourably based on their skills.

In general, the motivation of migration are often related to the employment opportunities and planning the future (e.g. career, stable life). The motivation of migration affects also how the migrants plan their time and invest their resources during migration (see Chapter 2). The migrants, who move to the UK to earn money, often do not spend time with British born locals, as they are mostly focused on work, often taking overtime at the job to save as much money as possible (White 2014*a*, p.79). It is worth noting that migration plans are marked by uncertainty, and so such plans could be changed during the stay in the receiving country (White & Ryan 2008, p.1473). In the broader discussion of the migrants' experiences of belonging, the motivation of migration might be related to the experiences of belonging. The motivation of migration could also show their approach to personal life, and to what is currently important for the migrants, and how they build their experiences of emotional and financial security and attachment which are important for their experiences of belonging (see Chapter 2).

[17] The highly skilled migrants are often presented as male workers, employed in science, IT companies, or enterprises (Kofman 2013, p.579).

3.3 Change of social networks over time in family migration

The social networks play a fundamental role for migrants' experiences of the attachment as dimension of belonging (see Chapter 2), but the migration process could also influence the social networks between migrants and their families and friends, who remain in the country of origin. As a consequence of migration, the original social networks could be fragmentised or even destroyed because of physical distance. What is more, the newly developed social networks could be mostly considered only as the temporary relations during a time of migration, and so creating rather weak social networks (Kennedy 2004, p.176);(Koelet et al. 2017, p.443). In contrast, social networks are modified in the light of transnational perspective. It does not mean that the social networks are only weaker, some of them could become actually stronger due to migration. The migrants can create significant new social networks in the country of destination, the migrants often support each other, and those social networks are strong. The new contact points could play a significant role in the daily routine of the migrant life, especially for the migrants, who might lose some of the social networks in the country of origin (Levitt 2001, Koelet et al. 2017, p.443-444).

Moreover, the social networks are not stable, and time could cause the change of social relations. As a consequence, some of the networks in the country of destination might be changed based on new experiences of migrants. At the first phase of migration, social networks are not broad (Bidart & Lavenu 2005, p.362-363). Migrants often are not open to create a new social network in the country of destination (Dominguez & Maya-Jariego 2008, p.322) as they do not know other migrants or may not speak the local language to meet the locals. The length of stay in the country of destination impacts the migrants' type of social ties. With a longer stay in the country of destination, the social networks become more diverse including also non-ethnic locals (Dominguez & Maya-Jariego 2008, Lubbers et al. 2010, Koelet et al. 2017, p.444), therefore, migrants might experience differently their attachment as the dimension of transnational belonging. The effort from both sites is required to develop and then maintain new social networks (Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, Koelet et al. 2017, p.444), however this is only possible if migrants improve their language skills. Therefore, time spent abroad might impact the migrants' language skills (Martinovic et al. 2009, Martinović 2013), and then migrants

do not only rely on Polish networks[18]. The change of the approach to the contact with other migrants from diverse ethnic minorities and native born citizens impact on the experiences of the attachment, therefore the migrants could experience stronger belonging to the new society.

Similarly, time, which the migrants spend abroad, can impact on the social networks in the country of origin. Firstly, the migrants might have less frequent contact with their friends and family in the country of origin (Morosanu 2013, p.359);(Koelet et al. 2017, p.444). The less frequent visits in Poland, and lower interest in Polish domestic affairs is presented in the research about the Polish double returnees, who experienced a failure in return to Poland, and after their second return (migration) to the UK, they seemed to be more convinced to settle in the destination country, similarly as the Polish migrants with children (White 2014*a*). Additionally, parents with children are more likely to settle in the place, where their children were born and attend school (White 2014*a*, p.76). What is more, the children play a role in bridging parents to the locals (Koelet et al. 2017, p.445), because parents might be more involved in relation to school affairs and meetings with other parents (Ryan et al. 2009, Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, Levrau et al. 2014, Ryan 2018*a*, p.242). The parents' engagement into child caring is significantly gendered in the context of the Polish parent experiences. Thus, the parents' experiences of belonging is linked with having children and the experiences of parenting. There is gender division of parents' role i.e. mothers are often presented as responsible for caring and raising children, while the engagement of fathers is seen from a perspective of breadwinner model (Kilkey et al. 2014, p.182). Therefore, mothers are involved in local social networks, what was confirmed in the research describing Polish migrant mothers and their children (Erel 2011)[19]. Such a gender divided responsibilities for children results in decrease of mothers' isolation in the society further related with the ageing of their children (Erel 2011, p.700). Simultaneously, the younger children can provide the reasons of intensification of the networks with family (also in the country of origin), because the migrants might need support from the members of the extended family in caring of dependent children (Silverstein & Marenco 2001, Koelet et al. 2017, p.445).

[18]Importantly, O'Flaherty et al. (2007, p.823) and Ryan et al. (2015, p.207) argue that the migrants, who feel more incorporated in the country of destination, were likely to visit their country of origin. It could be justified by the intersectional dimension of class. The migrants, who definitely feel that they settle in the country of destination and possess decent life also economically, might feel responsible to visit family members in the country of origin, or show their children the country, where the parents have roots. But the findings of O'Flaherty does not necessary correspond to the data describing Polish migrants, who do not want to visit often Poland once they settle in the UK, or do not have resources to fly with large family. I agree that their need of family co-presence was often seen in special occasions, for example weddings, birth of children and needs of emotional support.

[19]This research sample was only 5 mothers. This theme should be explored more in-depth in future.

Furthermore, the migrants might encourage their children to be in touch with the other members of family in home country (Koelet et al. 2017, p.445). Following this point, it is important for Polish parents to keep their children retained with Polish culture and traditions, through attending to the Polish Saturday School, speaking Polish language at home, attending Polish mass, and being active in Polish community (Rodríguez & Egea 2006, Levrau et al. 2014, Brannen 2011, p.163-166). The presented discussion shows that the children of migrants impact of the migrants' experiences of attachments, identification, and in consequence, the experiences of belonging. The parents might be able to establish new social networks or want to keep family social networks in the country of origin. What is more, the parents' experiences of belonging might impact their approach to their children attachments, by encouraging to learn Polish history and organising their social networks with with extended family living in Poland.

While close relationship with family remaining in the country of origin might not be lost during migration, the transnational friendships could decline over time, because of lack of effort and frequency in physical presence (Koelet et al. 2017, p.453);(Ryan et al. 2015, p.208). The most recent longitudinal studies on Polish migrants living in London by Ryan & D'Angelo (2018) confirms that family relationships are strong emotional support for Polish migrants, and they are preserved over time. In turn, the friendships become weaker over time. However this simply does not apply to all friendships, as some close friendship might change over time of migration, and even the contact is not regular, the migrants and their friends can still feel strong emotional attachment (Ryan 2018*a*, p.244). The migrants' approach to their social networks could shape the relationships over time. If the migrants are busy focusing on their own family and work in the UK, they are more likely to use their time in Poland prioritising the family members, not friends (Ryan 2018*a*, p.245). The prioritisation of the social networks seemed to be the migrants' decision and might be linked with their experiences of belonging, so the migrants prioritised their social networks in relation to their belonging.

Finally, the migrants might keep strong social networks with their families even if they do not visit their homeland often. The migrants might change approach how they take care of their social networks with family, they might often prefer to invite parents, children, and other relatives to the UK (White 2014*a*, p.73), or the migrants might not lose their close relationships with family because it was likely that they build their own nuclear family abroad or reunified with their family from the country of origin (Boyd 1989, p.351-352);(Koelet et al. 2017, p.445). Thus, they might not have any other relatives left in the country of origin, and the wider migration social context shapes the migrants experiences especially the attachment as part of transnational

belonging experiences.

3.3.1 Technology in support social networks

The social networks are one of the forms of attachment that migrants might experience. Keeping transnational social networks is possible even for years due to new technology, which helps to communicate and preserve ties across the world (Vertovec 2004, p.447);(Morosanu 2013, p.359). For example, migrants use technological advances in communication (messengers, email, video call, etc.) to sustain their social ties abroad. *Migrant transnationalism reflects the argument that the contemporary world is structured in a way that permits (certain) individuals to engage simultaneously in more than one locale. This is a useful perspective, particularly in terms of illustrating how migrants negotiate the different spaces and times they engage in* (Collins 2009, p.839). The technology enables migrants to maintain various social networks transnationally without a need to travel (Halilovich 2012, p.173). The migrants have a positive attitude to use the new technology for communication (Ryan et al. 2015, p.204), however there is a difference between generations how they communicate transnationally. Such difference might be seen as considerably larger in Poland than in Western countries, as older generation in Poland did not use to have access, or could not afford to buy all new technological gadgets, so they are less knowledgeable how to use new technological tools. The older generation did not have chance to learn how to use new technologies in their youth. They might only have had access to landline phones and old types of computers. Even if the access to the new technologies is currently easy, they might not be able to learn how to use them. The empirical research on highly skilled migrants in London (Ryan et al. 2015) shows the differences types of tools to communicate, which are used by older and younger generations. Nowadays younger generation could easily list a wide spectrum of available software and other digital tools to communicate transnationally. In turn, older generation often use more traditional channels of communications, e.g. a phone to communicate with their adult children and grandchildren (Ryan et al. 2015, p.206). Therefore, younger migrants often adapt to the needs of older generation and use a phone to communicate with them.

3.4 Meaning of time for attachments

The temporal perspective is an important element for generating and maintaining the experiences of belonging (see Chapter 2). On the one hand, the migration process as a project defined by the migrants, is seen in the research presented in (Eade et al. 2006, p.31), the relation between migration strategies (a plan for settlement) and social

position of the Polish migrants in London. The class position is understood as the life perspectives and plans, and opportunities for future. Eade et al. (2006) identified four types migrants based on strategies: 1) *Storks* – the circular (including seasonal workers) migrants, who are low paid workers, often working as waiters or cleaners. They usually stay between 2 to 6 months in London, and they use the earned money to improve their qualifications e.g. pay for their university fee in the country of origin; 2) *Hamsters* – they come with a clearly defined goal to earn money in London and invest them in Poland, they are more likely to stay longer without any interruption in their migration process. They also are often employed on low-paid jobs; 3) *Searchers* – the group of migrants, which think about their migration in an open way. They are focused on their social and financial resources, they want to increase their capital. In future, they consider to migrate to other countries or return to Poland if they would have good financial situation; 4) *Stayers* – they are planning to stay in the UK, they often have been already some time in London, and they know that they want to stay. The research presents relatively stable approach to the migration strategies, and it is unknown whether the migrants might change their strategies. Moreover, the research also shows that the migrants might present more approaches to their temporal perspective of migration. What is more, the strategies are related to their stage of life course and the defined motivation of migrations.

On the other hand, the motivation of migration and the approach to migration can change over time, and so it is not a linear process (Ryan 2018*a*, p.5). The attachment might be the project, which is negotiated over time. The research among the Polish migrants in London confirms that the migrants possess different approaches to time, which they plan to spend in the UK. The migrants' plans can be different but mostly include: return in the near future to the country of origin, consideration about moving to the countries outside the EU, settlement in the UK, or finally such a plan could also be unclear with sketchy intentions about future settlement or migrations (Ryan 2018*b*, p.6). What is interesting, the results of this research discover a pattern, in which the migrants move to the UK with a clear plan of the short stay (often for one year), but then they extended their stay for longer period (Ryan 2018*b*, p.5). The temporal perspective is involved in the migrants experiences of migration process, because *[m]igration is not a one off action but requires ongoing negotiations over time* (Ryan 2018*b*, p.11). Thus, the short-term migrants could become settled migrants in the country of destination, and so the migrants might change their attachment and belonging experiences. The negotiation of the belonging does not necessary increase the attachment, because the experiences of belonging are not linear.

Finally, the significance of time in creation the attachment was presented in the typology of migration strategies by Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski (2009), based on Vogel (2006) and Eade et al. (2006). The typology of migration strategies depends on the degree of attachments to the country of destination and origin in relation to the time as follows: 1) *Seasonal circulation* – the migrants, who work in agriculture, services, and construction, 2) *Settlement* – most commonly, the middle-skilled migrants, who settled permanently in the country of destination, 3) *Long-term residence* – the migrants presenting transnational strategy, they settled for long time, but they also keep strong ties with the country of origin, 4) *Unpredictable intention* – the migrants, who do not clearly define their plans, they are open to migrate to another country following career opportunities. They temporary stay in one country, they are often young, single, high-skilled migrants, with some family responsibilities in the country of origin (Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski 2009, Engbersen et al. 2013, p.936).

The abovementioned typology of the labour migrants shows the significance of the migrants' motivations and temporal dimension in the migrants experiences of attachment to the countries of origin and destination.

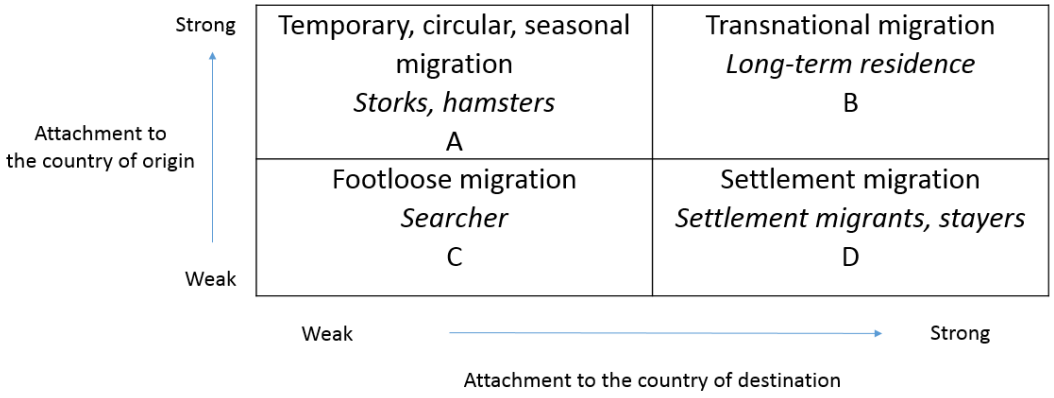


Figure 3-1: Different patterns of labour migration and types of Polish labour migrants Engbersen et al. (2013, p.965).

The Figure 3-1 presents the two types of attachment: weak and strong, which can be experienced in both countries: origin and destination. The type A - the strong attachment to the country of origin and weak to the country of destination is presented in relation to time by temporal, seasonal, and circular migrants, who have targeted reasons to migrate e.g. earning certain amount of money. The type B – with strong attachment to the country of origin and destination is expressed by migrants, who are long-term residents, and they are described as transnational migrants. The type C –

the migrants, who have a weak attachment to both countries, are described as footloose migrants, and are more global migrants without any specific attachment to a place and people over time. Finally, the type D – the migrants, who settle in the country of destination and established a strong attachment to it, whereas having a weak attachment to the country of origin. The research shows that the type of migration is linked with the attachment experienced by the migrants to the country of origin and destination. Moreover, the type of migration is related with the motivation and temporality. Thus, I argue that motivation, and temporality can impact on the experiences of belonging. It is unclear how fluid is the typology of labour migrants, and whether the types are permanently attached to the migrants or the migrants can move between the types. Moreover, the presented typology includes only labour migration so there might be differences in the migration strategies related to the migrants migrating for the reasons other than employment (see Section 3.2.), because the motivation plays important role in the migrants experiences of migration and belonging. Finally, the attachment to the countries is vaguely defined, as the migrants might have strong social networks (see Section 3.3.) but there might be other factors significant for creation of the attachments, which are important because the attachments dimension of belonging cannot be simplified only to social networks experiences.

3.5 Transnational identification in practice

The migrants possess social networks and acquire new in the process of migration, which impact their attachments. The change, which migrants might face during the migrants process, touches also the identification processes. In the empirical research, the Poles are presented as the migrants who negotiate and confront their identity over time (Ryan 2010, p.373). *No doubts migrants tend to experience their transnational identities differently depending on the context* (White 2014*a*, p.74). The migrants' belonging and identification are created in relation to the new circumstances, which appear in the new societies and in relation to the other people. Ryan et al. (2009) shows an example of Poles living London in relation to other ethnic groups. Poles look for their identity in relation to others (Ryan 2010, p.374). On the one hand, Poles want to keep their Polish identity *just in case* if they would like to return (White & Ryan 2008, p.1497). The Poles often present an emotional attachment to Poland (White 2014*b*, p.35), and this attachment impacts their process of creation of identity and belonging. The migrants might create their own livelihood based on diverse resource e.g. their own experiences, capabilities (White & Ryan 2008, p.1497), and migration experiences. After 1989, many migrants have settled within mobility (Morokvasic 2004). They seem to be stable

in their mobility, it is their style of living until they improve the living conditions at their home (Morokvasic 2004, p.7). Migrants are not necessarily strictly mobile, but they divide their lives and emotions between at least two localisations e.g. countries. *Earning there, but living here* – they could still feel that they live in a foreign country. The strangeness might increase when they migrants feel that they migrate only because of financial reasons, and they do not feel any emotional attachment to the country of destination (White 2014*a*, p.73). The Polish migrants live in the destination country, but they still present their identification through Catholicism, relation to other Poles (family, and friends), homeland, and cuisine (Ryan 2010, p.363-364);(Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). On the other hand, the migrants might look for their identification, which might fit to their past and new experiences, because *migration often involves contact with a different culture* (Cartmell & Bond 2015, p.91). So, the migrants might possess multi-locality, and they have emotional attachment to people with the similar roots (Vertovec 1999, p.450).

Moreover, the processes of belonging and identification of migrants are impacted by individuals' feelings in the new place. The experiences in the new place are linked with the way how the migrants are treated by native-born locals, and how native born citizens react on the migrants' settlement in the UK. The migrants still could feel as foreigners or outsiders in the country of destination (Ryan 2010, p.361), because they might have different accent, so they are easily recognisable as the foreigners (Ryan 2010, p.368). *Migrants may be confronted by negative stereotypes of themselves, as previously valued traits and characteristics such as language, religion, dress, etc. now become makers of their status as 'foreigners' and 'outsiders'. In seeking normality migrants must make sense of their 'foreign-ness' and their difference from 'others'* (Ryan 2010, p.361). What is more, the media show migrants as workers, who compete with native-born locals for jobs, and finally migrants are shown as those who steal jobs and accommodation (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). From the migrants' perspective, Polish migrants want to show that they deserve to live in the UK, Poles want to integrate or fit to the new society, so they attend language courses and retraining classes to be able to work in the UK (White 2014*a*, p.73). What is more, Poles do not accept bad, in their opinion, behaviour of other Poles, so they might feel stigmatisation for being Polish. Therefore, they distance themselves from other Poles, whose behaviours and spoken language (types of words, swearing) is not acceptable in their opinion (Ryan 2010, p.365). The migrants by showing disapproval for some behaviours of Poles, they wanted to show that they behaved differently so they are good migrants.

Furthermore, some of the Polish migrants describe the difficulties to trust each other in

co-ethnic communities (Ryan 2010, p.366). The significant example of distance between Poles is also based on social class differences. The white collar Polish professionals distance themselves from the working class Poles, as they do not want to be identified in the same way as those migrants (Ryan 2010, p.368). The individual experiences of the professionals are also seen in public discourse of the privilege of professional migration over working class. The professional migrants want to be seen as the white migrants with the assumption they should be privileged in the *largely white country* (McDowell 2009, p.30). However, the criticism among Polish migrants about other Poles seems to be only related not only to class differences. There are rather stereotypes about the workers doing some jobs e.g. workers in warehouse using vulgarisms. The research among Polish migrants in London shows that the criticism is mainly present among Poles who do low-paid jobs (see Section 3.4. on Storks and Hamsters) (Eade et al. 2006, p.37).

The experiences of belonging are created in the social context. The identification is created in the relation to objects of attachments: social network, communities, products, culture, and traditions. The migrants live in the social context where they experience being identified as the migrants and the foreigners. Based on their own experiences before the migration and after, they create their identification. However, the experiences of identification are created in relation to the approach to migration, so the motivation and the temporal perspective influence on their identification and attachment process. The need of coherence of experiences between identification, attachment, and membership impacts on these dimensions simultaneously. The experiences of dimensions of belonging are created in relation to other. Therefore, the migrants create the coherence between dimensions of transnational belonging simultaneously. The experiences of identification of the Polish migrants are also seen in the experiences of attachment. The migrants described where they experience emotional security, where they look for places, and which people increase their emotional attachments. It stays unclear why Polish migrants keep Polish social networks and Polish identity and simultaneously distance themselves from other Poles.

3.6 Experiences of social membership

The migrants, showing various motivations and with varying length of stay in the country of destination, possess diverse types of attachments. The migrants might be attached to the country where they feel safe (Ignatieff 2010). The financial resources might useful to feel safe and secure, therefore the migrants might access social security system in the UK. The migration is not justified by the social protection in the country of destination

(Moriarty et al. 2016, p.208), but the social rights based in the social citizenship might be experienced by the migrants to provide some financial security. There are no data, which show why the migrants claim certain benefits, and it is also difficult to find data which comprehensively present the claimants based on their nationality. What is more, there is no research about the social citizenship experiences presented in the context of belonging. From the national statistics, it is seen that the migrants access social security system, but their experiences of social citizenship in relation to belonging are not discussed in the literature.

Based on the existing EU regulations, the Polish migrants might be entitled to access social security system in the UK. It means that they could access the national health care system (the NHS), contribute to the pension scheme, and claim benefits. The eligibility to claim benefits depends on the migrants' status of employment and residency (gov.uk 2018*a*). *The UK government introduced a legal requirement for all new migrants to prove that they are habitually resident in the UK in order to claim social security and to apply for social housing.* (Marangozov et al. 2013, p.6). When checking the eligibility, so-called a centre of life of the migrant i.e. a length of residency, the actual employment prospects, and the reasons of migration to the UK, are taken into consideration by the authorities (Kennedy 2011, p.3-4). Other requirements to access the social security system by the migrants are related to the liberal welfare system, which exists in the UK. It means that the benefits are mainly mean-tested, the contributory benefits are at low level and the services are universal (Carmel et al. 2015*b*, p.27).

The data describing migrants accessing social security system are incomplete and fragmented, similarly as the data of the actual number of migrants in the UK (see Chapter 1). *This is because the nationality of benefit claimants is not information routinely gathered by either DWP [Department of Work and Pension] or HMRC [Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs] when administering benefits or tax credits. As a result, we are reliant on indirect, often ad hoc analysis – such as of the nationality of current benefit claimants at time of registration for a National Insurance Number – to estimate rates of benefit receipt among migrants in the UK* (Keen & Apostolova 2017, p.3). However based on the official national statistics (ONS 2011), it could be confirmed that the migrants access social security system in the UK. The current political discourse mainly has been focused on the issues of the migrants accessing social security system in the UK. This also has been extended to discussion what kind of influence migrants accessing social system brings on the receiving country (Fóti 2015, p.1). Naturally, the scale of migration brings a negative waypoint in public opinion about migrants, and might impact on the experiences of belonging, because the migrants exist in the same society,

and they might read, hear, and experience approach to migrants personally. What is interesting, the national statistics show that 80% of the migrants of EU10 who claim benefits are employed, but this is not used as an argument in public discourse to show that *social tourism* is not presented by all migrants in the UK (Marangozov et al. 2013, p.27). The migrants' social rights are based on their contributory rights not because of *social tourism*. Moreover, the level of the benefits in the UK in comparison to North Western European countries is lower, and the access to social benefits is limited with the number of requirements for the migrants to check their eligibility. Finally, the findings confirm that the nationals are more likely to receive benefits than migrants (Carmel & Sojka 2018, p.122-123).

Additionally, the data presented in Marangozov et al. (2013, p.32) points out that 35% of Polish migrants claim some benefits in the UK, and the most often claimed benefits are as follows: child benefits (<25%), tax credit (21%), while less Polish migrants claim social housing benefits (16%). Kozielska (2014, p.137) highlights that only one of five Polish migrants admit that they claim social benefits in the UK. Similarly to the above mentioned report, Kozielska (2014) shows that the benefits, which the migrants access, are often related to children (child benefits and health care for children) (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Kozielska (2014) shows the barriers what the migrants might experience in accessing social security system. On the one hand, the migrants could not manage the bureaucracy of the social system, and the migrants search for information on Polish websites. I would also argue that the migrants are more likely to search for help on Polish websites because they could have English language limitations. On the other hand, the Polish migrants are highly motivated, so they want to improve their living conditions, and they are focused of employment and do not rely on social system (see Chapter 7);(Kozielska 2014, p.137-138).

In addition, the data shows that 53% of all the EU claimants were the citizens of the EU10. This result could be linked with controversial public debate about migrants possessing right to claim benefits for children living abroad. *Child Benefit and Child Tax Credit might be payable to EEA [the European Economic Area] migrants in the United Kingdom in respect of their dependent children resident in another Member State* (Kennedy 2014*a*, p.1).

In Figure 3-2, the number of children is presented, who have resided in the country of origin, and whose migrated parents are awarded Child Benefits and Child Tax Credit. The number of Polish children reside in Poland is higher in comparison to other EU countries, but the number of Polish children awarded with those benefits decreased from 2012 (15499) to 2015 (13174). The number should be interpreted with reference to the

	Dec-12	Dec-12	Dec-13	Dec-13
Country	No. of awards	no. of children	No. of awards	No. of children
Austria	29	47	23	37
Belgium	138	274	75	140
Bulgaria	174	238	186	245
Croatia	...	...	5(a)	5(a)
Cyprus	53	80	203	61
Czech Rep.	176	282	124	203
Denmark	20	35	13	23
Estonia	43	63	45	65
Finland	16	30	12	23
France	1080	2003	789	1429
Germany	366	641	283	495
Greece	51	76	44	69
Hungary	132	203	136	196
Iceland	3	5	5(a)	5(a)
Italy	193	330	156	273
Latvia	853	1117	797	1091
Liechtenstein	0	0	0	0
Lithuania	1276	1772	1215	1712
Luxembourg	10	21	7	14
Malta	14	21	15	22
Netherlands	192	379	142	288
Norway	14	65	30	61
Poland	15499	25659	13174	22093
Portugal	239	364	202	309
Rep. Ireland	1281	2609	1231	2505
Romania	196	328	230	392
Slovakia	1083	1881	692	1232
Slovenia	7	13	11	21
Spain	756	1275	600	1019
Sweden	66	122	49	96
Switzerland	122	238	77	150
Total	24082	40174	20400	34268

Figure 3-2: Child Benefit and Child Tax Credit awards in respect of children resident in other EEA countries (Dec 2012/2013). (a) - For the purposes of Data Protection Act compliance, in the Dec 2013 data the number is withheld where it is fewer than 5 and greater than 0 (Kennedy 2014*a*).

other minorities in the UK, since Polish migrants in the UK are the largest minority among all the EU migration. Therefore, following the number of 831,000 of Polish migrants in the UK ONS (2015), as a result there could be reasonable to assume that also a high number of children lived outside the UK. If the number of Polish children outside the UK would be counted to the percentage of all Polish migrants in the UK, then the result shows that in 2012 number of children living outside the UK was 3%. In 2013 the percentage of those children decreased to 2.6% (Kennedy 2014*a*, p.3). The significant number of the child benefit transfers to Poland is the information implicitly describing family situation of Polish migrants working in the UK, whereas their families living in Poland. It is also linked with importance of transnational social network for the migrants, which are in Poland. Furthermore, the migrants, who migrated without their families, might experience differently their identification, attachments and finally membership, than those who live together in one country.

The data from Department of Work and Pension (DWP) are based on NINo registration, and present the data from all EU10. Those data display that 51% of all the EU claimants were migrants from the EU10 (DWP, 2014). The percentage of migrants, who have claimed the benefits from the EU10, is also high. Similarly, as the percentage of employment in the EU10 and Polish migrants, which was high 57% of EU10. Nevertheless, the British Social Attitudes Survey reveals that 77% of respondents wanted to reduce the numbers of immigrants in the UK. Moreover, Ipsos MORI in May 2004, described that 34% of respondents emphasised that immigration was either important or very important topic (Geddes 2014, p.289). Furthermore, many negative voices about migration in British society are present, in particular, led by UK Independence Party (UKIP), which wants to reduce free movement of migrants to the UK (Geddes 2014, p. 291). Moreover, such a gloomy attitude to the EU migrants could be created by negative image of migrants in the national media (TV, newspapers) (Garapich 2007, p.2). It confirms that discussion using only numbers or percentages of claimants show only a partial picture of social security system in the UK, without a human-migrant face. Therefore, it is imperative to provide a wider perspective on social citizenship experienced by the migrants and the migrants' creation of belonging in the current social and public context. Even if the migrants have social rights and they are eligible to access social security system, they might have diverse justification and experiences of their social rights entitlement. Moreover, their experiences of identification and attachments might impact their experiences of social membership e.g. where they would access health care system

3.6.1 Health care systems

Based on the EU regulations, the migrants are able to gain access to social security system in both countries (Vertovec 1999, p.445). The social rights might be claimed if the migrants are eligible e.g. by being employed in the country of destination (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.214). However, to understand the migrants belonging, it is not enough to explore the statistics of the benefits that were claimed by the migrants. The migrants have own preferences of using social security system, especially health care system. The health care systems in Poland and the UK are different, and medical services chosen by migrants are based on their own personal preferences or achievability. In the research about EU8, the migrants are often registered in the local health care centre, and they use hospitals when required, but the migrants seem to use the NHS only in emergency situation (Cook et al. 2012, p.339) (cf. Chapter 6). The migrants want to choose the best option of health care treatment, and they have more choices than non-migrants (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.217) (see Chapter 7). They show a proactive approach by combining the EU and national rights to travel to the country of origin to access health care system, dental care, or to buy medicines. A presumption about a higher service quality than in their country of destination could be the reason of such proactive approach to healthcare (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). Moreover, the migrants could also have a quicker access to health care system in their home country (Cook et al. 2012, p.339-340), the migrants are accustomed with Polish health care system (NFZ) and language, which is used in health care system, and therefore they feel more secure. Finally, the migrants consider the costs of the treatment, which would be cheaper in the country of origin, making sometimes significant difference in their household spending. The approach to health care system could have relation or be a result of the experiences of transnational belonging.

3.6.2 Challenges in transnational membership

When considering the social citizenship in migrants' experiences of belonging, I argue that several factors are important including the migrants experiences of identification and attachments, how they approach and justify social rights, and how they experience public discourse around migrants social rights. However, public and political discourse about migrants and their membership is inconsistent and often contradictory. There are challenges in understanding, who is a desired member of the society, and to whom the citizenship might be award by the state.

From the migrants' perspective, the citizenship could be seen as a three-step process in which migrants come, then settle, and finally are naturalised. Anderson (2013, p.93)

points out that there is a formal trajectory of migration: entry, temporary status, settlement, and citizenship. The citizenship is possible to achieve by naturalisation[20], so the end point of the process is when migrants become fully integrated with the new society and become the citizens. It means that the new citizens are engaged in civil, economic, political, and social relations. In practice, the process of acquiring citizenship might be more complex. The formal procedures of applying because of the administrative procedure brings also uncertainty for the migrants applying for the citizenship, they have to wait, and the procedure of applying formally for the citizenship might not end up in a successful outcome (Griffiths 2014). *Migration controls demonstrate that the state can play a direct role in sustaining or creating temporal uncertainty over the future. This is both masked and exacerbated by bureaucratic viewpoints which tend to require black and white administrative categorisation and evaluation of a person's immigration status at 'snap shot' moments in time, whilst also imaging the 'ideal' migrant to conform to a flowing sequence of events from arrival to settlement, productivity, integration and ultimately to naturalisation or return* (Griffiths et al. 2013, p.29).

Moreover, the citizenship process in the EU becomes more complicated. In general, the EU citizens are not considered in the EU as migrants because they are not the subject of the migration control, and they are not required to obtain a visa to travel across the EU member states (Carmel & Paul 2013, p.59). The EU citizens should present active participation, so the European citizenship should be enacted by active role by exercising rights, which are available for EU citizens in the EU institutions (Isin & Saward 2013, p.66). It seems that the EU citizens have to be aware of their rights and actively use them. However, at the same time, the EU migrants, workers, should be mobile and as the EU citizens do not need to apply for e.g. British citizenship[21] (Anderson 2013, p.113). *For people living with the tension and consequences of globalisation, deterriorisation, and mass migratory movements, 'belonging' to a place, a home, or a people becomes not so much an insulated or individual affair as an experiences of 'being within and in-between sets of social relations* (Ilcan 2002, p.2). The mobility has been presented in the current discourse as culturally, economically, and politically better. The mobile migrants are seen as better migrants. (Bissell 2007, p.280). According to Fóti (2015) *There was an assumption that intra-EU mobility would be temporary, and so integration was deemed irrelevant* (Fóti 2015, p.5). The transnational networks and

[20]However, it also can be considered a loss of already acquired citizens rights, as it was discussed in media the issue of Windrush generation. The migrants who arrived between 1948 and 1971 from Caribbean countries to the UK were called the Windrush generation. *There were deportation threats made to the children of Commonwealth citizens, who despite living and working in the UK for decades, have been told they are living here illegally because of a lack of official paperwork (BBC 2018).*

[21]It was written on 20th January 2018

high mobility approach might be seen as a challenge for adaptation of migrants in the society, when the migration is presented as a linear and one-way process from an arrival to a permanent settlement and belonging (Erdal & Oeppen 2013, p.868-869). Therefore, if the integration is considered as the linear process, which could progress over time, then the integration in the EU of the mobile EU citizens might not be considered (Nannestad et al. 2008, p.608). The ideal migrant is presented as a mobile worker in the EU, so the EU migrants (workers) are transnational and mobile, therefore they might not have time to build their integration and adaptation to the new society. What is more, they might not experience belonging to the new society, because they are in the country of destination only temporary until they have job. If we also consider the citizenship so the civil, political and social rights for the non-EU migrants, then the acquiring the social citizenship rights seems to be even more challenging. Based on the existing law and regulations in the EU, different categories of the migrants have different requirements to fulfil before the migrants could exercise their rights. There are identified 12 categories of migrants, and there are regulated areas of all the migrants rights e.g. length of permit, family reunion, labour market access, working conditions, health, social protection, and welfare provision (Carmel & Paul 2013, p.62-70).

From a global labour migration perspective, the state might look for migrants-workers, who are seen the *good migrants* but their focus is not on membership but on work. *Today, there are directed interventions by state and private actors to identify potential 'good migrants'. These identifications are part of broader migration as development strategies and moral economies of migration. In 'labour brokerage' states* (Rodriguez & Schwenken 2013, p.380). An ideal migrant is a worker, who do not bother about working conditions and rights, the ideal worker could adjust to any conditions, which are offered, and do not complain or do not want to improve them (Rodriguez & Schwenken 2013, p.383). This approach does not focus on adaptation, building common values, or possessing citizenship, but on possessing good workers. What is more, the process of creation the ideal migrants workers is promoted by highlighting significance of temporary labour migration (Rodriguez & Schwenken 2013, p.385). Thus, the promotion of integration and providing the rights is focused on utility to contribute to the economic market of the migrants (Carmel 2011, p.49,59). If mobility is promoted, the migrants have difficulties to adapt and create anchors and footholds to the new culture and environment, so they seem not to have emotional attachment to the country of destination. Moreover, the temporary present migrants are not eligible to become formal citizens because they could not meet formal time obligations to become citizens, so they might have difficulties to exercise their social citizenship rights.

Finally, the expectation of the state might lay on the desire of the citizenship status by being *good citizens* – so the migrants sharing common values (Anderson 2013). *Immigration and citizenship are not simply about legal status, but fundamentally about status in the sense of worth and honour – that is, membership of the community of value* (Anderson 2013, p.4). In contrast to equality of members, Anderson (2013, p.5-3) distinguishes different types of citizens: good, tolerated, and failed citizens. *The good citizen is in liberal sovereign self: rational, self-owning, and independent, with a moral compass that enables him to consider the interests of others* (Anderson 2013, p.3). What is interesting, that the migrants, who are tolerated citizens (hard working, legal, and taxpayer) struggle to distance themselves from other migrants, who are not acceptable (illegal, unemployed, or those considered as social tourists), and they are seen as guardians of good citizens (Anderson 2013, p.6). The current differentiation between *us and them* is a fight for cohesion and community of values. The tolerated migrants could still be accused of stealing[22] jobs from native-born citizens. The expectation of the countries of destination is to attract only highly skilled migrants, for example, as shown during Labour Conference in 2007 by using the slogan *British Jobs for British Workers* (Anderson 2013, p.57). This is also seen because the number of migrants is high, as it is pointed out by media there is *too many* migrants (Anderson 2013, p.49); (Blinder & Allen 2011, p.2). Furthermore, if the issue is oriented around the ethnicity, the Eastern European migrants from the EU are considered as not white enough. Anderson (2013) points out that the media still refer to cultural differences and to the level of crimes, which are done especially by Polish and other Eastern European migrants, to show the differences in values. The Polish migrants and other EU migrants are legally residing in the UK, but they could share different cultural experiences so based on this assumption they might not able to build community with native-born citizens (Anderson 2013, p.45). *The implication is that this is not about race in the sense of colour of skin (nor is it about gender), but it is about an uncivilised foreignness that leaves the Good Citizen beleaguered and excluded from 'his' country. Race, with all its contradictions and malleability, has not been left behind but is invoked with new inflections in the present* (Anderson 2013, p.47). The sharing common values seems to be a significant factor the migrants to become members of the community.

Nowadays, the understanding of membership is contested, and the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion emphasise different criteria. The boundaries such as requirements or expectations define who could or could not belong to the community. The inclusion

[22]In media, common discourse exist which underpin beliefs that the migrants steal jobs from the native workers, because they work on lower wages. If the migrants leave the country, therefore, all native born unemployed citizens could have finally employment opportunities Sun (2018).

might be expressed only in formal requirements, or inclusion could be considered as sharing culture and values. The cohesion role of citizenship causes feeling of being a member of community and feeling safe (Anthias 2006, p.21). The feeling of participation in the community and being acknowledged as the members influence the migrants' identification (Colombo 2010, p.148), which is one of dimension of the belonging. However, the defining a set of rules how to become the members seems to be fluid. Therefore, the expectation and public discourse could influence the experiences of the membership of the migrants, because it seems to be impossible to fulfil all expectations presented in the above mentioned approaches.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss the complexity of migration experiences in the relation to time and transnational perspective (presented in Chapter 2). Firstly, the motivation of migration cannot be reduced to the employment opportunities. The detailed analysis of the motivation in relation to the approach to time could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the migrants' experiences. Secondly, the identification is presented as created in the relation to the social context, therefore, the attachment of the migrants to the objects of attachment as behaviours or elements, which represent Polishness e.g. Polish social networks, are important. Interestingly, the Polish migrants, who keep their social networks in the country of origin, also establish new networks in the country of destination, but simultaneously, they critically refer to other Polish migrants. The social networks are important for creating or maintaining the attachments by the migrants, and the social networks are open on impact of time and transnational migration. Thirdly, the experiences of social membership show that the Polish migrants exercise their social rights in the UK, and transnationally by porting child benefits. The migrants show also transnational and proactive approach to health care system, they prefer to choose the health care system, which offers better quality of treatment and seems to be known better by the migrants. Finally, I discuss the challenges for the experiences of membership and being seen as a member of the state. The expectations and understanding of transnational citizenship seem to be contradictory, when the good citizens are presented either as mobile workers, who are focused on their job, or engaged citizens integrated into the society and who share the values recognised as common in the destination country.

The existing empirical research shows the complexity of the experiences of migrants in the migration processes related to aspect of belonging. But the dimensions of transnational belonging need to be further studied. The attachment is the most explored

dimension of the belonging, and relatively little attention is paid to the identification, which seems to be treated as coherent with attachments of the migrants. The identification is presented in transnational perspective as a dynamic process, where the migrants might possess more than one identity. In the context of transnational belonging, it is important to investigate how dynamic and complex are the experiences of identification. Moreover, the attachments of the migrants need to be explored by investigating the other objects of attachment established by the migrants in the process of transnational migration. Finally, the experiences of membership, the civil, political, and social rights should be investigated to provide the better understanding of the experiences of the social citizenship by the Polish migrants. The theoretical and empirical research provides the evidence of the requirements and the expectations for the migrants to become the citizens, but there is a need of evidence from the migrants' perspective of the social citizenship to be able to present the complexity of the experiences of belonging on three dimensions: identification, attachment, and membership. Before I get to that investigation in the empirical chapters, I explain the research design and methodological approach in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the methodology of the undertaken empirical study. Each part of the research process is meticulously discussed to provide an in-depth explanation of the decision process made before and during the conducted research. It is worth noting that during my PhD, I was involved in the research project TRANSWEL[23]. Involvement in the TRANSWEL project had some impact on the research process for the PhD project. My responsibilities within TRANSWEL were mostly in the work package 2 (WP2) and work package 4 (WP4). The WP2 involved conducting quantitative surveys with Polish migrants in the UK, allowing me to meet the migrants in their communities, and extend my knowledge of the places where the migrants could be found. In addition, I was responsible for a qualitative research (WP4), in which I analysed 13 interviews with migrants and their significant others. Therefore, the research for the project and for PhD overlapped, and the approach to the TRANSWEL project had an impact on my (PhD) research: methods, sampling, collecting data, and analyses, which I discussed respectively in the sections of the chapter.

Firstly, I discuss the research design by introducing the research objectives and my ontological and epistemological position. In choosing an interpretivist approach, I pay particular attention to the reflexivity of my positionality in the research process. I anal-

[23]The TRANSWEL research 'Mobile Welfare in a Transnational Europe: An Analysis of Portability Regimes of Social Security Rights' (TRANSWEL), it was an international research project funded by New Opportunities for Research Funding Agency Cooperation in Europe (NORFACE). The focus was on the portability (practices, discourses and inequality) of social security rights in the enlarged EU in four work packages: Germany-Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, Sweden-Estonia, UK-Poland. See more on the website: transwel.org.

yse the complexity of my positionality in relation to the participants to avoid misinterpretation of the data. Secondly, I analyse the chosen sampling method and the means of accessing the participants for interviews to show the diversity of approaches, which came from the theoretical sampling of the chosen method. Thirdly, I present the overall cyclical approach in my research and the division of the work for both projects, to show where the projects overlapped, demonstrating the relationship between both projects. Finally, I argue that the research process was a four corners process, where four corners (i.e. collecting data, transcribing, coding, and memo writing) were crucial and equally important to create in-depth analytical insights and to encourage reflexivity of the interpretation. I highlight the importance of inclusion of transcribing as equally important part of the research, because it helps to become more familiar with the data and the researcher's analytical thinking and writing memos might increase.

4.2 Research design

Belonging is a concept that is broadly discussed in migration literature. In this thesis however, the aim is to explore the experiences of transnational belonging by Polish migrants living in the UK including the experiences of social citizenship. The research question was defined as follows: **How are transnational belonging and social citizenship experienced by Polish migrants in the UK?**

To answer the research question, I followed the research objectives, and I investigated diversity in transitional experiences of belonging and social citizenship according to individual characteristics such as education, employment, family status, number and age of children, gender, and also motivation and time of migrational experiences, which appeared later in the research analyses. Such characteristics allowed me to explore and differentiate lived experiences amongst Polish migrants. Secondly, I derived a meaning and concluded on the experiences of transnational belonging and social citizenship for Polish migrants. The understanding of meaning of belonging and social citizenship for Polish migrants is required for interpretation of the experiences of belonging constructed by Polish migrants in their social context. Those research objectives led me to answer the research question and identify the dynamic relationship existing between experiences of belonging within the different dimensions expressed by the migrants.

4.2.1 Epistemological and ontological perspective

For the purpose of this thesis, an interpretivism approach was undertaken. The ontological and epistemological position contends that social reality is socially constructed

and shaped by the interactions between individuals and society (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012, p.347). Social reality can be analysed, however the interpretation of social reality can vary and is dependent on social actors, and can change over time (Yanow 2003, p.12);(Bryman 2012, p.366). Moreover, the researcher, being involved in the interpretation, is not unbiased by possessing their own life history, experiences, capacities, and characteristics (positionality) as well as age, gender, class, education, and ethnicity (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2013, p.67). In the interpretivism approach, the researcher makes their own decisions and choices during the research process, which are affected by the positionality of the researcher, and thus influences the interpreted social reality. Therefore, the data are co-produced in the interaction between the social actors and the researcher in the research process (Yanow 2003, p.12);(Zhou 2017, p.36). In interpretive research, the language, acts, and interactions (including non-verbal) are interpreted, because *[t]hese three classes of artifact are seen as existing in a symbolic relationship with their underlying meanings (values, beliefs, feelings)* (Yanow 2003, p.11). The meaning-making is crucial at all the stages of the research process (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea 2015, p.5-7);(May & Williams 2002, p.60).

The interpretivism approach encourages the researcher to be flexible in the research design *due to field realities* (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2013, p.72), and to be aware of own positionality and transparency in the decision-making process of the research. The researcher has to be mindful that the ideas of the research might not be shared by the research participants, and the research has to be open for an alternative interpretation of the phenomenon. Therefore, constant reflexivity of the researcher is required. In addition, reinterpretation of the data is possible, and so, to avoid misinterpretation, it is important to include the perspective of other researchers (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2013, p.102-110); (Yanow 2003, p.11-12). Because reflexivity is so vital for the research, a detailed reflexivity of my personal and professional position, which might influence the interpretation of the data, is discussed below.

4.2.1.1 Positionality

The reflexivity of positionality was an unquestionably important aspect during my research, and it hugely impacted collecting and analysing data. What is more, the positionality was constructed during the fieldwork according to the interpretivism approach as my epistemological position. At the starting point of my positionality, I am both Polish and the researcher, who had undertaken this project, conducted interviews and performed analyses. I positioned myself as *an insider* within the Polish community in the UK. By considering myself as *an insider*, I understood that I shared some similar

characteristics with my interviewees including ethnicity, language, and culture (Ganga & Scott 2006). This was considered both an advantage and disadvantage. During the fieldwork, the advantages of being Polish, and a native speaker of the Polish language was considered as providing relative ease of communication with interviewees. The migrants, who generally do not speak English fluently, could easily and more naturally express themselves in Polish. Moreover, I could also understand and speak local Polish dialects and jargons. This was particularly important when migrants used colloquial language. Being a native speaker of Polish was also significantly important in the whole process of the research: interviewing, coding, and analysing, because I had to carefully translate from Polish to English. Often, it was impossible to translate the interview word for word, because I would not capture the actual meaning of what was said. As a native Polish speaker, I could be sensitive to the meaning of the interviewees' words. Moreover, when the participants are bilingual, the use of native language or English language might impact on the style of responding to the questions asked (Harzing 2006, p. 244). Responses in native languages are seen as *more meaningful and elicited more extreme* (Harzing 2006, p.248).

Considering myself a migrant, I was also able to better explore the feelings and experiences of the interviewees. At the same time, however I was afraid that my own experiences of migration could colour my interpretation of the interviewed migrants' experiences, due to my own prior assumptions. As I mentioned above, there were some disadvantages to being a Polish migrant, when conducting this research. The Polish migrants highlighted that they were afraid of gossiping amongst the Polish migrant population. The Polish community seemed to be closed and the migrants often knew each other well (this was prominent to Polish migrants, who spend more time among other Polish migrants). Thus, some Polish migrants were afraid of the anonymity of the conducted research. They were concerned about sharing details of some controversial, in their opinion, experiences and events in their migration history. I think that they may have been afraid of the questions that I might ask, and it could have been difficult for some of the migrants to imagine how detailed the questions might be. What is more, I also think that they were concerned about my judgement of them. Both these worries were related to a specific aspect of the research: social citizenship. More precisely, claiming social benefits was one of the topics, which seemed to be linked with shame or distress. This required me to spend more time (than assumed before entering into the fieldwork) to build participants' trust. However, it was a barrier which I was eventually able to overcome. Additionally, I was unknown to the participants before I started the fieldwork, I lived outside South West England, so it could have increased their confidence that I would not share any personal information with other Poles in

their community. I observed that they were nervous when we talked about social benefits. It was shameful for them to admit that they claimed social benefits because there is still a strong stigmatisation of social support in Poland (and public discussion in the UK about Polish migrants claiming illegal or ineligible benefits). It became apparent that they were more anxious, and their answers were shorter than their responses to other questions. At the same time, they tried to justify and explain why they claimed social benefits.

When I finished the first two interviews, I became more confident about my analyses and overall research process. I became more aware of my own thoughts and experiences as a migrant, and could go beyond my own assumptions in my analysis. The experiences that the first two interviewed migrants described were so uncommon and unpredictable to me, and I did not expect to hear such dramatic migrants' histories. I was so surprised, and realised that I knew nothing about Polish migration in the region of interest in South West England and about their experiences of belonging and social citizenship. Moreover, I experienced disturbance to my insider position because of my language capacity - the Polish migrants had developed their own way of communicating in the UK. They adopted Polish and English words (called *Ponglish*), or they gave new meaning to some words, thus changing the way someone living outside of the community could understand them. To describe my position at that stage of the project, I could use the Socratic paradox - *I know that I know nothing*[24]. I discovered that I have had assumptions, which were unconscious. I was surprised by the experiences which migrants have had, and I developed more and more questions in my head. I realised that I did not feel like an insider any more, however what was interesting that the participants described and saw me as a true insider. This was highlighted by the words they used when they referred to my ethnicity: *You know! You are Polish as well...* (Cezary 03), *You know how Poles behave.* (Franciszka 15), *You know how it works in Poland...* (Darek 04), *There... of course you know it, all Poles were there.* (Edward 05), *Poles meet next to the bush.* (Edward 05), *You are Polish, right? So will the interview be in Polish? That's fine...* (Helena 46). It is important to highlight that I could only observe and listen to the participants and based on this I could interpret what the migrants thought and how they positioned me. Ethnicity was significant in the research, but as suggested in transnational literature, the research should go beyond an ethnic lens (Amelina & Faist 2012, Chavez 2008, p.476). I identified that there were other dimensions, which might impact the research process such as gender, age, educational background, and social class.

[24]Socrates (469-399 B.C.) was a classical Greek philosopher.

Indeed, during the fieldwork I experienced remarkable differences in interviewing female and male participants. In the case of female interviewees, the fact that I was of the same gender was helpful. I observed that female participants were more open to talk, and they seemed to be more willing to invite me to their accommodation for the interview. In some cases, it was justified by the fact that they had to take care of children, so I had to visit them because they had more domestic responsibilities. However, women without children (single or elderly) were also open and willing to show me their accommodation i.e. houses, flats, or rooms. Secondly, I experienced that some women were more open to me because they assumed that as I was also female I must have had similar experiences during the migration process. It was as if they regarded me as a friend, because they thought I could understand them better as a woman and a migrant living in the UK. At the same time, I observed that some male participants tried to make a good impression and wanted to show off. The dynamic of the interview with males was different and I had to more carefully analyse the collected data. The male participants often wanted to present themselves in better financial and social positions that they actually were. Those male migrants highlighted their successful experiences in the migration process, they often emphasised their financial resources or their knowledge, which situated them in higher positions to other migrants, while the female migrants did not use statements to emphasise their positions among migrants and natives. Thus, for the male migrants' social position clearly mattered more, and such positions were created by claiming that they possessed financial resources or by depreciating the value of others. Finally, although in some cases gender had a positive impact on male participants by encouraging them to take part in the research, gender also caused difficulties because some of the male migrants wanted to hide their appointment with a female researcher, being afraid of gossip amongst the Polish community. The differences in the way males and females presented their social position were significant when interpreting the interviews and it showed that the position of the migrants was socially constructed. It also impacted on the meaning of the experiences of belonging and social citizenship.

I also experienced that my age did not have a huge impact on the interview process and my positionality, especially for interviews with Polish migrants who were between 18 and 40 years old. I only observed small differences when interviewing migrants over 50 years old, who sometimes patronised me. They seemed to think of their relationship with me as parental, but did not appear significantly, because my employment status overcompensated my age. In my research, the older migrants were respectful to academics, which could be attributed to Polish culture wherein, people, who work in universities, are generally highly regarded.

Additionally, there was one set of skills, which helped me to be more reflexive during the process of the fieldwork and the analyses. I have a background in psychology, and was trained for seven years to work closely with people whilst ensuring I separated my own and other people's experiences and feelings. This helped me to distinguish the experiences, understandings, and feelings that belonged to me and those which belonged to the interviewed Polish migrants. Furthermore, my educational background helped me to ask questions and understand some of the personal barriers that the participants could have been experiencing such as shyness. I was able to create a friendly and relaxed atmosphere during the interview. Finally, my psychology background and experience of working as a counsellor helped me to follow and fulfil all the necessary ethical requirements during the research process.

In terms of social class, I could position myself as a middle class person similarly to some of the migrants I interviewed. Class division was particularly noticeable in the different types of migrant accommodation. In some cases, the living conditions were extremely poor, particularly when I interviewed homeless participants. The typical understanding of class differences was not present amongst Polish migrants in the UK. In the conducted research, I found cases wherein well-educated migrants (e.g. those with a Master's degree) were living in poor conditions without any savings or any positive perspectives for the future, as well as the cases of less educated migrants with a decent financial situation. Interestingly, the migrants did not experience class differences during the interview process. They did not present any shame or worries when I went into their accommodation. For them, their living conditions were considered normal because their migrant friends and neighbours had similar living conditions, so they did not have different reference point for comparison.

To sum up, positionality had a significant impact on the research process as positionality affects the sampling and analyses of the data. Some of the migrants' experiences were easier to understand due to similarities with my own life experiences e.g. motivation of migration, length of migration, or similar life stage to the participants. Therefore, reflexivity was crucial in identifying my own experiences and separating them from the participants. The most important part of the positional process was at the beginning of the fieldwork after the first phase (first two interviews), as I was surprised that I discovered that I did not know much at all about the situation of Polish migrants living in the UK. This could be due to the very detailed selection of the interviews for the TRANSWEL project, which I also included in my PhD project. It was unexpected but I also think that it was the best experience for me and for further analyses. And I discovered and named my conscious assumptions, and identified some unconscious

assumptions, which I had been separating my experiences from the data. Additionally, the methods used for this research allowed me to learn over time about the migrants' experiences through the research process and build my knowledge about the migrants' experiences cyclically, therefore I was able to confront some of my reflections and doubts in the subsequent interviews, and try to avoid misinterpretation because of my own bias.

The best description of the experience, I had during the research process would be *eyes wide shut*. I was present on the fieldwork, and I shared some cultural and language characteristics, which were extremely useful to conduct interviews and to analyse the collected data, however my eyes were wide shut and I had to really focus to follow my participants and not rely on my own thoughts. The process of collecting data and analyses was truly a learning process. I recovered eyesight step by step, to get *a full vision* of the participants' experiences of belonging. Therefore, at the end of the research when I achieved a saturation point, I could describe my position as *eyes wide open*. To explain the process of the fieldwork and analyses, I used the time line, which showed the process of changing my positionality, from a researcher whose *eyes were wide shut*, to a researcher with *eyes wide open*.

Figure 4-1: Visualisation of the process of change my positionality during the research process.

4.3 Research methods

During the research, I was interested in developing both an interpretation of the experiences of Polish migrants and a meaning of belonging, as well as the dimensions in which the belonging was experienced by Polish migrants. Moreover, I investigated the role played by social citizenship in the experiences of belonging, and the meaning of social security rights for the migrants in the context of belonging.

With respect to my research question and objectives, I needed a methodology that enabled me to investigate these in accordance with my ontological and epistemological positions. I decided to conduct qualitative analyses, which allowed me to explore the situational and structural contexts of Polish migrant's sense of belonging and social citizenship. The qualitative research helped me to investigate social reality from the participants' perspective (Flick et al. 2004, p.3). To be more precise, I used grounded

theory, which is described as a method, but can also be considered as a style of undertaking qualitative research. The main assumptions are: to discover a theory from the collected data; and to be open as much as one can to exploring all possible ways of explaining and interpreting the data. The main reason for choosing this methodological approach was a lack of research about experiences of social citizenship as a dimension of belonging, and grounded theory could be applied when the research topic had not been well explored in the research studies (Charmaz 2006).

Social citizenship should be investigated beyond the statistics of the claimants, and I wanted to explore the experiences of belonging and social citizenship, and see how these experiences are linked, and what it means for the migrants to feel a sense belonging and exercise their social rights. However, I wanted to avoid misinterpretation of the data because of my assumption that the experiences are related. Moreover, I did not have the specification of the sample, which I could investigate, so grounded theory was the correct methodological approach, because it required that I follow the analyses and the data. I had to be sensitive with the details provided by the migrants and make research decisions based on the interpretations, not my assumptions, whilst remaining aware of my own positionality. Furthermore, the method of the research allowed me to explore diversity and density within the research project, and respect the individual, personal experiences of the migrants (Corbin & Strauss 2014, p.8). Finally, during the analyses, many concepts and ties could be developed and linked together to capture social complexity (Strauss 1987, p.7-10). And surely most importantly, through grounded theory I was able to be open to defining the concepts and how they were linked together, by making no prior assumptions as to what they were.

4.3.1 Sampling method - selecting and accessing the research participants

My engagement with my research was started before the fieldwork. I had a chance to become more familiar with the migrants experiences when I did 60 questionnaires (quantitative research) with Polish migrants in the UK for the TRANSWEL project (WP2), and I collected qualitative data for the TRANSWEL project (WP4). This allowed me to use the same entry points to find the migrants for this research. Additionally, the interviews for the project were extended and also used for my PhD project. For both projects the focus was on Polish migrants and the theoretical sampling was used as the sampling method. The theoretical sampling is about discovering relevant concepts for the research, their properties, and dimensions (Corbin & Strauss 2014, p.144). At the beginning of the research, the focus was on identifying the concepts and features,

which are foundations for the research, and defining what is the next step (interview) and why. The gathering of data is sequential and cyclical, and helps one to focus on reflexivity in collecting and analysing the data. Each of the cycles of research was based systematically on repeated steps: doing interviews, analysing them, writing down reflections, and reiterating this procedure by coming back to the fieldwork as many times as needed.

For the TRANSWEL project, the frame for the theoretical sampling was based on heterogeneous samples defined by employment status, education level, age, gender, and family status. In terms of employment status, the goal was to conduct interviews with permanently and temporally, irregularly and regularly employed migrants. The basic starting point to be eligible for an interview was to have at least one of example of portability such as the European Health Insurance Card (EHIC) card, or a more indirect or informal example - including the sending of document(s) from the country of origin to the country of residency. These requirements were fulfilled either on the administrative level, i.e. between institutions (the EU citizens were asked to provide relevant documents to institutions in the receiving country) or on a personal level, i.e. the members of the family send required documents to migrants in the UK.

Based on my experiences working in the TRANSWEL project, my engagement in the PhD research started within the fieldwork by trying to become more familiar with the region and the Polish migrants, who might become participants in the research. The fieldwork was conducted from April 2016 to January 2017, in the South West of the United Kingdom in both urban and suburban areas (see Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2: The area of the fieldwork (ukcampsitesearch.co.uk).

The sample for my research was defined broadly. I wanted to reach the Polish migrants,

who presented different experiences of belonging, and I only narrowed the sample to adults (from 18 years old upwards), and Polish migrants who migrated to the UK after 2004. To collect rich data, I used a variety of approaches to finding migrants for the interviews, the purpose of which was to use theoretical sampling methods to get the sample. At the beginning, the first two participants were identified based on previous interviews for TRANSWEL, and later the places and participants were identified based on the analyses of the interviews, so the process of theoretical sampling. It meant that the places described below came up later as a result of the research process e.g. charities for homeless people was a crucial missing part in my theoretical sampling

Firstly, I wanted to become familiar with Polish communities. To be able to comprehensively understand the life of Polish communities, I tried to attend as many Polish events in the South West of England as possible. The events, which I attended in a few different cities and towns, were Polish festivals, Polish Heritage Days, and Polish Schools Events to name a few (from May to August 2016) (see Appendix F). Such experiences provided me with a broader understanding of how many Polish migrants attend such events, and also how they spend their free time. Polish migrants seemed to enjoy spending time amongst other Polish migrants. The events demonstrated that that Poles spend time together, and create institutions and organisations, which are dedicated to Polish migrants. This showed that there were not only Polish individuals in the UK, but there were also Polish communities. Moreover, the Polish events were used by other Polish institutions such as organisations, charities, and firms as a place and an opportunity to show their offer, sell their products, and receive donations.

Therefore, I searched for places and institutions, which were (primarily) dedicated to Polish migrants. I sent e-mails with a brief introduction of myself and the conducted research (see Appendix C). I attended meetings at different organisations and places such as Polish Catholic Associations, Polish Family Groups, Polish Parents' Clubs, Polish Shops, Anonymous Alcoholics and other Alcohol Addiction Support Groups, Adult Support Group, Polish Hairdressers, and Polish Car Garage Services.

Secondly, as I mentioned above, the example of the theoretical sampling was that the sample cannot be narrowed to the places, which were dedicated to Polish migrants, such as Polish parishes. There were significant groups of Poles, who did not identify with Polish community, and they would be excluded from the research if I only collected interviews in the well know places amongst Polish communities. Therefore, I identified the entry points, which allowed me to get access to the migrants, who not easily accessible, and who seemed to be hidden in the UK e.g. homeless migrants, or migrants who were not involved in Polish communities, as well as highly skilled migrants. I searched

for places and institutions, which were not Polish but where it was possible to meet Polish migrants in the area of my interest: such as homeless charities (I recognised that in the area where I did my research there were about 5 to 10 homeless Polish people), and companies/universities (I searched on websites and found potentially Polish names of employees).

Since it was not possible to simply find homeless Polish migrants living on the streets and conduct an interview, I gained access to homeless people by signing up as a volunteer with a local homeless charity. It was necessary to be formally registered as a volunteer with the charity as this was the only way I could spend time amongst people who visited them for support. Therefore, I spoke with the manager of the charity, and we both agreed that I could help the charity as a volunteer, whilst using my time to build networks with the Polish visitors. I was a volunteer for four months, and I spent between two to three hours each week working in the charity. This period of time helped me to meet a few Polish homeless migrants. One of the migrants agreed to participate in the project and was subsequently interviewed. During volunteering at the charity, I helped him to apply for a new passport, so it was a unique opportunity to get to know him better, and hence build the trust, which was necessary to conduct the interview. In particular, this interview was unique because of the circumstance of the homeless migrant life. I knew from theoretical sampling that I needed to do the interview with a homeless person, but respectively, I also knew that this interview was necessary to fulfil the image of belonging and the role of social citizenship in the migrants' experiences of belonging.

One more example of theoretical sampling in my research was to gain access to Polish migrants working within large international corporations and universities. My selection was based only on the surnames, which sounded more or less like typical Polish names that I identified on the respective websites. Later on, the people, who responded to my e-mail directed me to Polish employees at the universities or companies. The first step in contacting the potential participants was similar to contacting Polish organisations; I sent e-mails with a brief introduction of myself and the proposed research (see Appendix A). Moreover, I found advertisements in the newspapers and leaflets of Polish business owners, who might be engaged in my research, and I called or emailed them if I thought that there was any possibility that they might be Polish migrants. I also used the same method by asking the participants whether I could contact their family members, other acquaintances, or friends. This was especially important at the latest stage of the research process when I followed the data and my analyses, so I could choose the participants, which I had met or contacted previously. Fortunately, some of

the interview partners forwarded me further contacts so this approach was helpful to extend the fieldwork for the research.

Additionally, I also used my private social networks including my friends, who might know relevant migrants in the UK. I also walked through a few cities and towns in the region of interest and every time I saw Polish shops or Polish-looking places, I arrived in person and I tried to have an informal chat with the people there. Importantly, to achieve access to these places it was necessary to go through gatekeepers. The informal gatekeepers e.g. parish priest or teachers, who were considered as a significant point for the researcher to have access for the sources on the field (Merkens 2004, p.166), *(...) because gatekeepers often link an element of self-interest with willingness to open one or more doors* (Merkens 2004, p.166). The informal gatekeepers were also acquired in the 2nd phase (WP2) of the TRANSWEL project where I did surveys with Polish migrants. To have successful and fruitful access to the field, a lot of patience (time) was needed. This was time to talk to people, to show myself to potential participants, and to explain to them who I was, and what I was doing there. First impression was important as I did not want the migrants to think of me as a debt collector asking about their employment status or benefits they claim, but rather as a researcher, who was an open and communicative person, and who had something to offer to them (Wolff 2004, p.195). Moreover, it was crucial to spend time with potential participants and get to know them better, because it allowed more open dialogue about sensitive aspects of their experiences.

Finally, following the theoretical sampling, I posted a brief introduction to my research on several Polish Forums Groups on Facebook (see Appendix B) including groups of migrants looking for jobs, mothers, sellers and buyers. This idea came to me after developing my observations from my fieldwork. The Polish migrants often mentioned that they used Facebook profiles and groups to share information and ask questions about the issues they had.

My approach was to get to the saturation point, the point at which *no new properties emerge* (Charmaz 2006, p.192). I had to extend my own networks to get sampling beyond the snowball method approach. The activities, which I had been involved with from the beginning to the end of the fieldwork, in my opinion, helped me to better understand Polish migrants in the UK, to build trust, to be more recognised in the communities, and last but not least, to decide who would be the potential participants to undergo theoretical sampling. By using theoretical sampling, I did not assume any of the specific characteristic of the sample e.g. age, class, gender unless it becomes significant during research (Glaser & Strauss 1998). The focus was not put on the heterogeneous

sample based on the demographical differences. I analysed the interviews and I noted all the questions, ideas, and doubts. However, based on the collected interviews I decided on the questions, which I would ask which emerged from the analyses of the transcribed interviews and also decided to follow some demographic characteristics, such as female participants, returnees, and significant others. At the beginning of the interviews after the first research cycle, I had rich data but I did not have the voices of the experiences of women, so I knew that it would be the next step which came from the data, not because I have to have diverse sample. Similarly, the participants' referred to the experiences of returnees, and I decided that I could not rely on the comments of the migrants about the returnees' experiences, but I that had to interview them directly because it was the theme, which came up when analysing the data. Thus, the returnees were included in the sampling too. Similarly, the migrants highlighted the significance of the family and social networks existing in Poland, thus causing the need for the inclusion of the significant others living in Poland into the analyses. Therefore, the sample included Polish migrants, returnees, double returnees, and significant others (see Figure 4-3). It also meant that a short part of the fieldwork was done in Poland (see Appendix G). Interestingly, at the end of the research I discovered that I had a diverse sample based on the demographical data, but it was discovered retrospectively, and it was the result of the theoretical sampling method. In the end, I did a total of 55 interviews (see Appendix E).

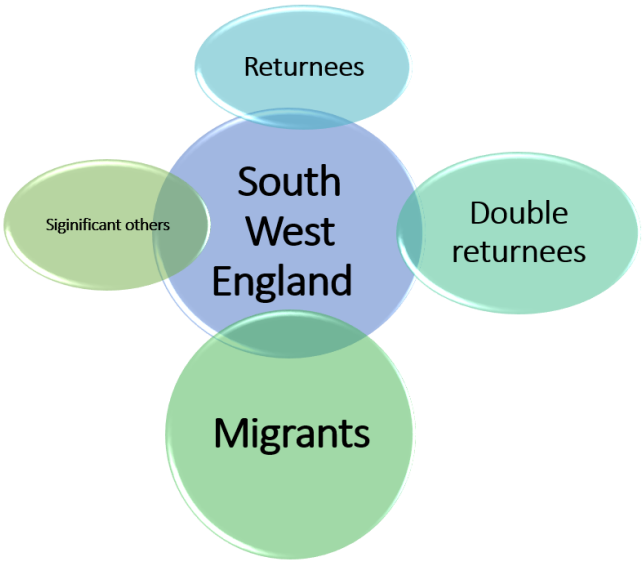


Figure 4-3: The types of Polish migrants included to the research.

4.3.2 Four corners process of the research

The research for my PhD consisted the element of the collecting, transcribing, coding, and analysing the data. The research processes were cyclical, not linear (see Figure 4-4). Therefore, it would be impossible to do the process step-by-step in an iterative manner: interviewing, transcribing, then coding: open coding, then selective coding, because some analyses happened earlier and some later (Charmaz 2006, p.65).

The whole process of interviewing, transcribing, and coding was finalised in 6 research cycles. Each of the research cycle included a number of interviews, which some of them were transcribed and analyses, and then I decided where, which, and with whom I should do next interviews (so I started the next research cycle). The decision of the transcription of the interview was made based on the other interviews, fieldwork notes, and previous interviews analyses. The first three research cycles were focused on the TRANSWEL project with additional questions for my PhD project (so the interviews were longer than the interviews done only for one project), and were done in the UK and in Poland. For TRANSWEL project I transcribed and analysed 13 interviews.

All interviews selected for the TRAWSEL project were finally included into analyses of my PhD. Because the interviews had important data also for the PhD. But the interviews I coded and analysed separately. I also did additional research cycles only for my PhD to achieve a saturation point. Finally I had 55 interviews, with 41 of them transcribed. I transcribed and analysed all the interviews from cycles: 1 and 2, and some interviews from cycle 3, 4, 5, 6. The final decision how many interviews were transcribed was only seen at the end of the process. I did some interviews in cycle 6 and during the transcription I returned to the previous interviews in cycle 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 to analyse them or transcribe, because they become relevant to the analyses in the later stages. In Figure 4-4 there are visualised the number of undertaken research cycles which were done for both projects.

4.3.2.1 Data collection methods

The data collection was one of the corners in the four corners process. Following grounded theory I had a guideline how to proceed with research, but precise instructions were not available. Based on the method I had to be open-minded and follow the flow of migrants' narration (Charmaz 2006, p.15). One of the most important tool for my research to collect data was face to face meetings with the migrants to record an interview. The detailed interviews allowed me to explore the migrants' experiences and understanding of their transnational belonging and social citizenship. *Interview*

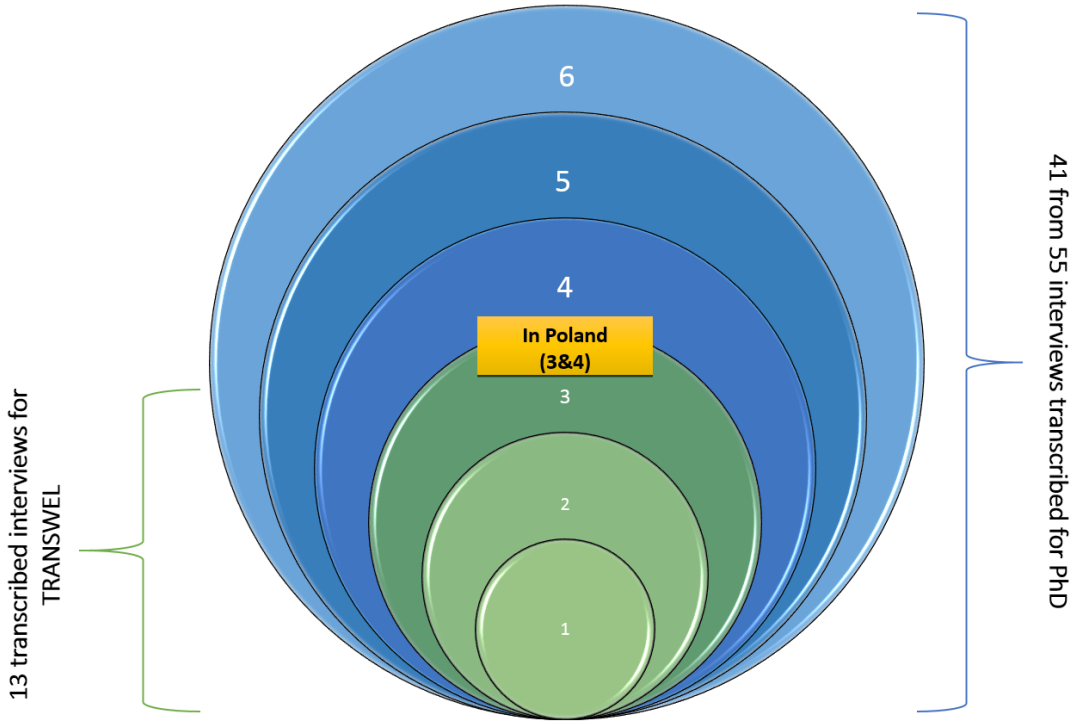


Figure 4-4: The research cycles.

is a directed conversation (Lofland & Lofland 1984, Charmaz 2006, p.25). The roles of interviewee and interviewer are explained as follows: *the interviewer's questions ask the participant to describe and reflect upon his or her experiences in ways that seldom occur in everyday life. The interviewer is a good listener and a sensitive observer, which encourages the person to respond* (Charmaz 2006, p.25-26). The purpose of the qualitative research, which was significant for my interviewing, was to give the space for the migrants' voices (Scheibelhofer 2008, p.411).

The interview as a tool provided an opportunity for migrants to articulate their experiences and the meaning of those experiences. The process of interviewing was taken and considered as more informal conversation. The migrants could choose the language of the interview (Polish or English), and all of the participants chose Polish as the language for the interview. I thought that for some of the participants it was obvious to speak Polish, because of the lack of English language capacities, but the migrants with the knowledge of the English seemed to preferred Polish because they did not have many opportunities to speak Polish and it was *strange* for them to speak in English to the Polish researcher. I started all interviews with a short introduction about the objectives of this project, provided details about anonymisation and storage of the data

collected for the research. The migrants could ask questions if they had any concerns about privacy. After this introduction, the narrative part of interview was open. The migrants were encouraged to tell their own story with a limited number of interruptions in their talk. At the beginning of the fieldwork, I did not have list of questions, the interviews were unstructured. I had only a list of topics which is called *interview guidelines* (Scheibelhofer 2008, p.411). The questions asked at the beginning of interviews were open-ended because such questions encouraged migrants to express their experience in broader ways, and they did not limit answers to my prior guesses. Later in the interview, questions were more improvised since I tried to explore the issues that had emerged during the interview, and such questions were also more direct to make sure that the topic of interest was well covered in the recorded interview (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). Similarly, on the later stage of the fieldwork, the questions were more direct, detailed, and the interview become more structured, I had list of questions, which came up from the analyses of the transcribed interviews.

Importantly, the interviews from the first three research cycle (for TRANSWEL) were conducted using problem-centred interviewing method, which was used in relation to grounded theory (Scheibelhofer 2008, p.413), so the main themes were identified before the interview, but the general questions were asked to encourage the migrants to start conversation, and refresh memory of the research during the interview process (Witzel 2000). The general questions were related to the experiences of migration and the history of migration, therefore I made the notes during the interview and I was able to follow my research question and topics to ask the questions relevant for my PhD research. To avoid disruptions in the interview, the questions for both projects were mixed in the interview. I tried to have in my mind two research topics and be sensitive on what I heard during the interviews, and followed the data. The project had one common theme: social security rights, therefore I was able to extend some of the questions from the TRANSWEL to search for experiences of social citizenship.

The advantage of face to face interviews was an opportunity to observe and interpret words, body language, and periods of silence, which were often also very informative. So, all relevant information I noted down as additional fieldwork comments after a particular interview was finished, since such comments might be important for interpretation and follow-up analyses. The interviews were done in social context where the experiences of the migrants were constantly constructed (in relation to my ontological perspective), and my research wanted to explore the meaning of the migrants experiences (epistemological approach). Therefore for me, as the researcher *everything had meaning* (Bryman & Burgess 2002, p.445-448). I tried to create atmosphere during the

interview that was inspiring the migrants to be fully engaged in this interview whilst not being afraid to talk about belonging and migration experiences.

The place, where the interview was taken, had also impact on the atmosphere of the interview. The interviews were conducted in different places including current migrant's accommodation, or in public places such as cafés, restaurants, parks, and public libraries. The place of the interviews was depended strictly on the preferences of the migrants to make sure that they felt as comfortable as possible. I did not pressure migrants' preferences about the place to meet for interview, and I never insisted to meet at migrant's accommodation. The interviews conducted at their accommodations were, however meaningful to the research project, as they provided a possibility to acquire additional information and observations. For example, seeing the photos of family/friends or beloved items for the migrant, which they brought from Poland or part of the flat where they prefer to spend time. It could visualise me their identification or attachments and it provided me additional information for interpretation of the data, and it was insight into their private space, which might be their part of the experience of belonging.

Generally, female migrants were more open to invite me to their accommodations since they highlighted their responsibilities at home. For example, they had to take care of children or granddaughters, so the interview was a part of their time at home. For the qualitative research it was easier to link the migrants' experiences and their actual standard of living conditions. Especially, if the migrants highlighted their poor standard of living. I could see what they actually meant by saying it. Some migrants were less open to invite me to their accommodation. As it could be considered that the public space facilitated their emotional safety, and keeping their dignity by not showing their private space, which they might feel ashamed. All interviews, except one, were conducted as one-to-one meetings. Even if the interviews were done in public place, the places such as cafés were inspected and carefully selected before the interview by me, to make sure that firstly the privacy and quietness would be acceptable to the potential participant, and secondly to record the interview without background noise.

An additional reason for some interviews were taken in open public areas, were based on my personal need of security. It was important to feel secure to be able fully focus on the migrants' narration, the asked questions, and observation on non-verbal communication. To avoid the risk on the fieldwork, each time I informed my husband when and where I would do the interview. When it was first appointment with the migrants, and the contact was started via social media (e.g. Facebook), so the migrants respond on my public Facebook posts then I only agreed to do the interview in public place, and I

choose the time of the interview, which was not too late.

To sum up, the face to face data collection was important and made possible to observe the behaviours and the environment in most of the interview provided additional information about the participants for the analyses. Moreover, the advantage of interviewing for both projects was the more diverse ideas and rich data, which I had. Working for both projects encouraged me to think more broadly and creatively. However, I also experienced overwhelmingness, when I carried on two projects in the interviews. It was challenging to ask all relevant questions for both projects and did not lengthen too much the interviews.

4.3.2.1.1 Ethics In the process of the research, I was very watchful on the migrants' comfort, and I was very careful to keep the confidence and abide to my ethical approval of my research[25]. To maintain the confidentiality of the participants, I did not talk about the participants with other Polish migrants. When the participant was introduced to me by other Polish participants, I emphasised that we would not talk about previous interviewees' experiences. What is more, the interviews were digitally recorded, so all the migrants, who participated in the interview were informed about confidentially of the research. The data were anonymised, and the migrants were asked to sign an appropriate consent form (see Appendix D). I reaffirmed that the migrants could withdraw from the interview if wanted by contacting me. None of the migrants has been withdrawn at the time of writing this thesis. At the end of the interview, I collected the biographical details. In practice, I wanted to keep the interview more relaxed for the migrants, therefore I acquired a small voice recorder, which I tried to put close to the migrants, but in the same time I wanted to cover a little bit as a present of the recorder seemed to stress the migrants. They looked to be *afraid* of the recorder. All the formal signing papers, the consent form and biographical questions were left to the end of the interview, because it took the interview again on this formal and structural space, which did not build trust and openness. Moreover, the main element, which provided in ethical practice, was to avoid migrants' harm such as stress or anxiety. During the interview, there were questions asked, which migrants might feel as sensitive, therefore empathy and focus on migrants was significant during the whole process of interview (Bryman 2012, p.117-118).

All the data were securely archived. The requirement is based on the Data Protection Act (1998). The written notes and recorded data were archived in password protected

[25]The ethical guidelines were published by many research organisations e.g. British Sociological Association (BSA 2002)

storage. The interviews were transcribed personally and anonymised. According to this Act, the data were kept no longer that it was necessary, the identity of the migrants was protected. It means that data, and personal details were stored separately, and additionally transcriptions did not include migrants' personal details.

4.3.2.2 The last three corners: transcribing, analysing and coding process

Hildenbrand (2004, p.18) divides conventionally research into tree types of work: data collecting, coding, writing memos. I argue that that the research process should not exclude an important part such as transcription. I wanted to point out that transcriptions were a significant element of the analyses for the research project, especially when using the interpretive approach *where everything matters*. Instead of triangular process, I thought that more usefully was to think of the research process such as four corners process (see Figure 4-5). All selected elements were interacting and impacting the overall analyses process. In grounded theory, in which the research process is not linear but cyclical, the quality of each of the element impacted the former one. I added the transcription to the process of analyses because during the transcription the ideas and thoughts might came up to the mind, and the researcher might want to write memos.

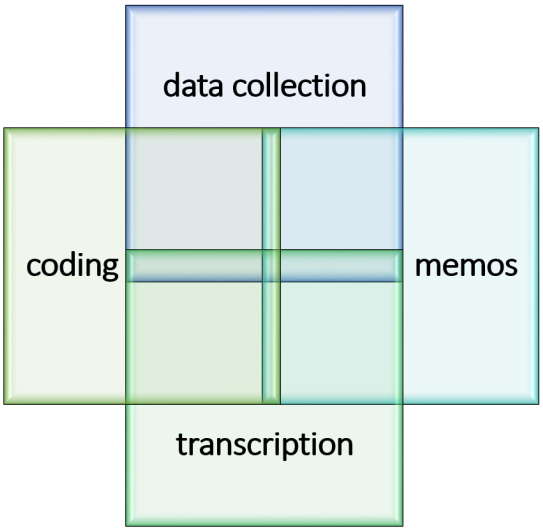


Figure 4-5: Four corner research process.

Transcribing

The analyses started in transcription process, which was also a significant part of collecting data. The interviews were selected based on the research project core interest. Such number of transcribed interviews was sufficient to achieve a clear saturation point

for my research. Transcription of the interviews allowed to perform in-depth analyses of the text. During this stage, I produced notes and wrote down initial reflections on what I extracted from the collected data. It meant also that the transcription process allowed me to stick closely to the collected data, through listening carefully what exactly participants said. *Transcription can be understood as the graphical representation of selected aspects of the behaviour of individuals engaged in a conversation (for example, an interview or everyday chat). Transcription involves transcribes, a system of notion, the product in the form of a transcript, and the transcript readers* (Kowal & O'Connell 2004, p.248). Also, the analyses of the data could be in-depth when the voice and other non-verbal sounds were heard by the researcher. Moreover, the transcription as part of four corners process was important in qualitative research, because I (as the researcher) possessed certain knowledge and biases, and attended research trainings, which was related to my ontological and epistemological position. The additional possibility to hear the data, and analysed them allowed me to be more sensitive for interpretation of the meanings and experiences (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009, p.1);(Strauss & Corbin 1998, p.32). *Sensitivity enables a researcher to grasp meaning and respond intellectually (and emotionally) to what is being said in the data in order to be able to arrive at concepts that are grounded in the data. Later, when it comes to write findings, that same sensitivity enables researcher to present participants' stories with an equal mix of abstraction, detailed description, and, just as important, feeling'* (Corbin & Strauss 2014, p.41).

Finally, not all interviews were transcribed as grounded theory method allowed to choose the interviews to transcribe from all the research cycles, because whole the process was cyclical, which created the opportunity to select the interview, which was most relevant for the research interest on each stage of analyses. Thus, the process was seen as moving back and forth to find the most relevant and saturated data.

Coding

After the first transcriptions of the interviews from the first research cycle, I coded the data. I did all transcriptions and coding myself. At the beginning, the phases of the coding had more open goals and after conducting initial analyses becomes more oriented. The codes were created by naming phenomena that were seen in the collected data (Charmaz 2006, p.46). Even if the interpretation was tentative at the beginning (Strauss 1987, p.27-28), the observations and labels become more focused and adequate as time was passing and more analyses were done.

I started coding for the TRANSWEL project, and first 3 interviews I coded (open coding) line-by-line to improve the understanding of the coding process and become more

familiar with the collected data. The analyses of the qualitative data were done in collaboration with a researcher also involved in the TRANSWEL project. The researchers involved in this project had the regular coding sessions (via conference communicator), which allowed us to share our ideas and analyses between other 8 researchers from four different EU countries. For the purpose of this collaboration, the part of the interviews were translated and coded in English, so all researchers might be involved in coding and discussion process. In the TRANSWEL project the researchers and I had the opportunities to discusses our codes and thoughts of the data (via online meetings) what encouraged me to think broaden about the data for the TRANSWEL and for my PhD project (Charmaz 2006, p.42). Although the collaboration work was only done for the TRANSWEL project, and not for PhD, it helped me to also look at the data from different perspectives and avoided misinterpretation, because we shared our interpretation and discussed it among TRANSWEL researchers. For example, in my data Polish migrants seemed to not fight for their social rights if their application was rejected then they seemed to accept the decision. When my finding was discussed with my colleagues from the University of Vienna and compared to their finding of Hungarian migrants. Hungarian migrants in Austria took some actions to receive social benefits even if the application was rejected as they seemed to not give up. The comparison of the interpretations and findings opened the new possibility to interpret the data or search for the explanation not in the migrants approach but also in the differences of the social system between countries. Although, the focus in TRANSWEL was on porting and accessing social security system, it was advantage for my PhD analyses. The collaborators, discussions of the interpretation of the data encouraged to think more creatively, and to see other perspectives of the interpretation, so be more open in interpretation, which was important in my ontological and epistemological position. For my PhD, I did not collaborate in coding and interpreting the data, but some of the ideas of thoughts I noted down during the TRANSWEL collaborations. Moreover, I also spoke about my codes and categories to a supervisor, husband, and friends, who were not involved in the social research, but it was productive exercise, because their questions and comments were important in my broaden interpretation of the data. They had own assumptions and experiences, which impacted their interpretation, and I was aware of it. But sometimes it was a glimpse which helped me to problematise own analytical thoughts.

Following the coding experiences with the interviews for TRANSWEL project, I did not use again line-by-line codes, I felt that it was time consuming and unnecessary process because I already was familiar with the coding process and the data (I started coding for the TRANSWEL in June 2016 and for PhD I coded from July 2016). Moreover, the

method allowed to skip open coding and to do focus coding and selective coding on the interviews for my PhD, which were more focused of the categories and based on larger part of the text (Charmaz 2006). The interviews, which were transcribed and coded for the TRANSWEL project (13 interviews), I coded again with the focus on my research question. The codes were not the same because they research question was different, only one similarity I noticed in the codes, which were related to social benefits, but the interpretation for PhD was on the meaning of experiences in the context of belonging. In terms of the coding process for the PhD interviews, I used focus coding, which gave me the chance to categorise the data and summarise each entry of the data. *[The researcher's] codes show how you select, separate and sort data to begin an analytic accounting of them* (Charmaz 2006, p.45). The codes showed action and what was going on in the data. Then I did selective coding, which was possible when the main categories were discovered: e.g. reasons of migration, time abroad, deservedness of social rights. The selective coding means to *delimit coding to only those codes that relate to the core codes* (Strauss 1987, p.33). The example of the codes e.g. temporary stay, looking for adventure, staying permanently. Based on those codes, I created the categories e.g. short stay, settlement, and unknown time of stay. Then I identified the theme: assumption of time.

To structure, organise, and perform the analyses of the collected data, I used the software ATLAS.ti (version 7). The software was a practical solution to organise a big data set, which was a part of analyses, such as transcription, memos, and fieldwork notes (Kelle 2004, p.276-277). The important strength of the program, which was used for analyses, was a support to retrieve of the text segment codes, search for similarities, differences, and relationships between different parts of the text. The software could visualise the dimensions from the text by using graphs (Kelle 2004, p.278-280). Moreover, the software automatically updated coding to the text, when the data were fragmented, and it was an important advantage as it helped to avoid time-consuming procedures, which otherwise were done manually.

Memos

Continuously, an important aspect of analyses was constant comparison of the data (Glaser & Strauss 1998). I compared the codes and interviews between each other, first I looked for the similarities and differences, and then I compared statements and incidents in the same interview, then between increasing number of interviews (Charmaz 2006, p.54). To organise the codes and the thoughts in the analyses process, I wrote memos, which included all relevant for the research interest thoughts, questions, and

identified gaps. The memos were mostly written during the analyses of the data, but I also experienced that often in the transcriptions of the interviews in the later research cycles, I wrote memos. I thought that playing back again the interviews stimulate me to think about the analyses again, and to think about comparison the interviews again. The memos for both projects I kept separately, I tried to be strict to divide the analyses and codes. However, it was impossible to avoid the situation, when I was inspired to write memos for one project, when I analysed the second project.

To sum up, I consider the research process as the relation between collecting data, transcribing, coding, and writing memos. I argue that the transcription was a significant part of the four corners process because all of them together helped me to be reflexive on the data, and be more sensitive on intricacies of the data. The systematic reflection on the data leads to improvement of interpretation quality (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009, p.5-6). *Reflection can mean that we consistently consider various basic dimensions behind and in the work of interpretation, by means of which this can be qualified* (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009, p.6). Moreover, the analyses for the TRANSWEL project helped me to be more sensitive and familiar with the data. I could only assume that my fieldwork could be longer and the selection of theoretical sampling would be less accurate for my PhD if I was not engaged in two projects simultaneously. Based on the TRANSWEL interviews, I could discovered important themes and topics for my research and then my theoretical sampling quicker become well defined. It also meant that I could interpret the data with more open approach because I has a chance to analyses some of the interviews at least a twice and from different perspectives. In contrast, the analyses processes were challenging when the project overlapped, because I had to be careful to separate the thoughts and findings in relation to the research questions. Finally, the advantage of grounded theory as a method with all the important research processes helped to learn and become more confident in the interpretations of the data. However, the fluidity and lack of the framework in this method caused the ambivalence of the feeling and worries for the young researcher, especially at the beginning, when I did not trust my assessments and decisions.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology, which was designed and used for the purpose of this research, and answering the research question with the respect to my ontological and epistemological position. In the interpretivism approach, the reflexivity of the own positionality is crucial to avoid misinterpretation of the data. Therefore I presented my positionality during the research. What is important that my

reflexivity affects analyses at the beginning of the research, when I was surprised of the data, which I collected. It helped me to realise unconscious assumption in my mind. I did not know how the process of the analyses and interpretation of the data would look like if I did not realise of some bias, which I possessed.

Then I discussed in detail the sampling, in which followed the rigour of theoretical sampling. The experiences of the social citizenship in the context of belonging were not well explored in the literature, so I could have a problem to define the sample before the fieldwork. Thus, theoretical sampling allowed me to learn from the data, who should be included into the sample.

In the third part of the chapter, I presented the process, which I called the four corners process that includes collecting data, transcribing, coding, and writing memos in this one research process. Based on grounded theory, the research was cyclical, the four corner process happened simultaneously, and it showed how the stages of the research process overlapped, and how they were related. I argued that transcription was important to familiarise with the collected data, and for deeper interpretation. After the transcription process, when I analysed the interviews, I could hear the timbre of the participants' voices, and the features, which characterised the way how they talk and use non-verbal elements, and this was important in the attempt to construct broader picture of the experiences of the migrants.

The chosen method, grounded theory, fitted for this research project. It was demanding process, because of the cyclical approach and constant comparisons everything with everything it took time. But, it allowed to perform the analyses and return to them in any time of the research. Therefore it was possible to analyse the first interviews in the light of the latter. Moreover, the cyclical approach increased the confidence and clarity of the interpretation. And the constant comparison of the data provided the opportunity to learn about the social reality constructed by the migrants.

In this chapter, I considered also the significance of the work on the two research projects simultaneously. The process of coding, and writing memos were separated because of two different research questions, however I acknowledged that there were advantages of my work in both projects. I became quicker aware about some of my biases and assumptions, because of the collaboration with other TRANSWEL researchers. It encouraged me to think more creatively and openly about the interpretation of my data. What is more, I analysed some of the interviews at least twice from different perspectives, so I become aware of the details, which I could miss analysing only once. However, the work for both projects was time demanding. Both projects had the

deadlines, which I had to fulfil, so if I could change something I would like to give myself more time, probably it would increase significantly the enjoyment of the research. In the next chapters, I present the empirical research of my study.

Chapter 5

Being temporary in the UK

England is not a country to stay forever! You can come here, you can work here, you can earn more here, but this is for a short time... For 5, 10 years... Then you change the country or return home. (Roberta 27:61)

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the clusters of closely resembling experiences shared by the participants, who planned to return to Poland. They did not experience their belonging in the exactly same manner, but some distinguishable themes such as their motivation, intended length of stay, and transnational practices could be observed. Those commonalities appear to be shaped by social characteristics, especially gender and class, but there were not, by any means, determined by them. Among those participants, the temporal orientation of the migration project seemed important in framing their identification, attachment, and membership. Their belonging was experienced at three levels: individual, collective, and institutional.

This chapter discusses the common experiences and practices among twenty (20) participants. The socio-demographic characteristics of this group are as follows. There are eight (8) male participants, and twelve (12) female. The age of the participants is ranging from 19 to 59, with a mean in mid-thirties. The family status of the participants is diverse: single, married, and divorcee, and 9 of the participants have children (a number of children is 1 to 4, aged 2 to 38 years). The participants in this group are Polish migrants, who are seasonal workers, one-time migrants, and returnees. The length of stay in this group also varies significantly: seasonal migrants who migrated a

few times to the UK with a maximum of three months on each visit (3 participants), actual returnees had spent between 3 months and 12 years in the UK before they returned to Poland (7 participants), and those who have lived in the UK between 4 to 15 years (10 participants). The participants, who decided to return, have children aged between 2 to 16 years. The participants' employment status is less diverse: 16 participants are employed but primarily in skilled or low skilled jobs, in particular, 9 participants with university degree are not employed as professionals.

In the first section of this chapter, I show the significance of time frame (intended length of stay) and motivation of migration for the participants included in the group, who intended to stay temporarily in the UK and planned to return to Poland. They might differently experience time, but there were some similarities, which helped to show some patterns in their experiences. The participants intended to stay for a short time. A number of those participants actually returned to Poland (7 participants) for family or other reasons, however not always as they had originally planned. The other participants, who planned to return to Poland although not always returned following their initial plan, often extended their stay in the UK (9 participants). The remaining participants (4), who were seasonal migrants, and were in the UK in the time of interview, and returned to Poland at the end of their seasonal arrangements. The orientation on temporariness might change, although for some of the participants, it did not seem to change, even if they were migrants settled in one place for longer period of time. Then, I present the participants' experiences of identification, which seemed to be quite stable at individual level regarding the time spent abroad; there were some similarities in their identification with Poland, and simultaneously, they also identified their children as Polish.

In the second section of this chapter, I show some differentiation between the participants in this group at a collective level: some participants with a strong attachment to Poland realised their need to own a property in Poland which they could call home, while some other participants experienced their Polishness in the UK by attempting to create so-called *a second-best Poland* in the UK. The second-best Poland as part of social anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016) was constructed based on a set of practices such as shopping Polish products, celebrating Christmas and Easter following Polish traditions, and keeping in touch with Polish friends, who often formed emotional and informal support.

The third section of this chapter describes the experiences of the participants, who predefined the time spent in the UK as a temporary migration, and finally returned to Poland.

In the fourth section, I explore the Polish participants' experiences of a social membership at an institutional level in the UK. The experiences of social membership were mostly expressed as feeling ashamed to claim social benefits in the UK. Interestingly, the participants included in this group, created their own differentiation and understanding of the social benefits dividing them into those, which were social protection and shameful to claim, and those which were acceptable and which they did not feel ashamed to apply for. There was a clear distinction between the child benefit, which by the majority of the participants was not recognised as a social benefit as compared to the other social benefits. Additionally, the participants included in this chapter, showed health care nationalism, or avoided exercising their social membership in the UK health care system. For example, they travelled to Poland because they did not trust the NHS services. They also manifested a utilitarian approach with regard to the pension scheme, because they wanted to have a British pension after returning to Poland.

The conclusion to this chapter explores how those different experiences and understanding appear to reflect distinct aspects of belonging on three dimensions: identification, attachment, and membership.

5.2 Temporality and reasons of migration affected experiences of belonging

5.2.1 Assumption of temporary stay and financial motivations

Temporality – both of intended stay and and actual length of stay – profoundly shaped the experiences of some participants' migration. In particular, the originating motivation for migration appeared to affect some participants' view of their migration overall (King 2002, Kilkey & Merla 2014, p.89), (Favell 2008, Kilkey et al. 2014, p.442);(Ryan et al. 2009, p.70). Some participants had only been in the UK for a short period as seasonal migrants, but there were participants (9 participants), who strongly voiced temporary nature of their stay in the UK, even if they had originally migrated years earlier. In such cases, temporality of migration had a different quality: it was always limited with an end-date, even if the end-date itself was indeterminate or receded into the future (Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1204),(Griffiths et al. 2013, p.29).

When analysing motivation of migration, it appeared that employment opportunities were the most significant reason of temporary migration (Ryan et al. 2009, p.70). Among the participants in this group, there were 13 participants, who highlighted em-

ployment as the predominant reason of temporary migration. The participants searched for opportunities to improve their financial situation in the country of origin. They could earn considerably more in the UK than they would earn in Poland even with higher costs of living in the UK. For example, Darek[26], an exemplar of a temporary migrant, coined his own term *freedom of wallet*[27] to explain the opportunities, which he had after migration to the UK. Under this term, he understood that he was able to pay freely for everything he wanted to buy. He said:

> *Freedom of wallet, rights [laugh], freedom of wallet. You can pay and you are not afraid of the price. You do not worry that you will not have enough money to pay for a lunch or clothes.* (Darek 04:36)

Such financial freedom also means that the participants included in this research, who earned more than in Poland, could pay back all debts acquired in Poland before migration. They presented the process of migration as a chance to create, in some sense, a secure future i.e. a future without debts (Ryan et al. 2009, p.70),(Griffiths et al. 2013, p.6-7). The employment prospects in the UK, in addition to the exchange ratio between British Sterling and Polish złoty, opened to some participants an opportunity to save money for their eventual return to Poland.

> *I decided to migrate because I was a bankrupted person. My parents were not rich and I had to pay back my debts. (...) I knew that I could earn more in the UK, and then I would be able to pay back all debts.* (Andrzej 4R:75)

Temporality of the intended stay did not imply that the characteristics of that temporariness were the same in all participants' experiences. The seasonal workers were focused on short-term employment in the UK, and their time frame (length of stay) was often precisely specified before migration (Griffiths et al. 2013, p.29). The participants, who were employed as seasonal workers (4 participants), strongly emphasised their financial motivations for migration. The original motivation and thinking about migration might not change quickly because those seasonal workers determined their stay in the UK based on their summer holiday at school or work, plainly defining the length of their migration from couple of weeks up to three months. They seemed to be unwilling to change their life, which means they did not give up their job or study in their country of origin. They were attached rationally and emotionally to their responsibilities and social life in Poland. For those participants, migration appeared to be more like time out (Griffiths et al. 2013, Griffiths 2014) with a defined end-date. The typical

[26] Darek was a 43 years old, married man. He finished a secondary school. He is a father of two sons (15, 19 years old). He migrated as a skilled worked to the UK. He was in the UK for 12 years.

[27] It is a literal translation from Polish language, however, this term also sounds unnatural in Polish.

attitude to migration shown by seasonal participants in this group can be seen in the example of Anna[28], who was self-employed in Poland. As during the summer break, she did not have any responsibilities in Poland, she decided to spend one month in the South West UK. Her decision was motivated by the opportunities, which she had, as she used her social networks in the country of destination. Anna's friend, who lived in the UK, could help her with all necessary formalities and could offer her cheap accommodation for her stay in the UK. Her friend might be either her only social network in the UK suggesting that it is necessary to stay longer in a migration destination to build wider social circle (Bidart & Lavenu 2005, p.362-363), or her closest social network she could rely on during short-term migration. Anna considered the migration to the UK as an affordable option to have a summer holiday as she did not want to waste her current savings on this trip. She decided to find a part-time job after her arrival, and used her free time for sightseeing in the UK as her actual summer break.

> *I came only for one month... One month is not the same as two or three weeks holiday. However, it is time, in which I can find a job. For example, I can work for a few weeks. I considered to extend my time, however I received some information from Poland that I should come back because I have my responsibilities there which I left. There [in Poland] will be some courses, which I should continue in August. I have already booked some training so I should come back. And of course, my family misses me [laugh]. I also let my flat [in Poland] for a month. So everything has been prepared for one month.* (Anna 09:03)

Anna planned in advance the length of her stay in the UK, as her break abroad was constrained by her professional responsibilities in Poland. What is more, she planned her time in the UK in such way that she could achieve her main objective, which was not to waste her savings while seeing new places. She might have pondered to extend her migration, but finally she decided to adhere to her plan, and returned as planned after one month. The migrations seemed to be a process, but some factors can be strong enough to impact the participants' decision on staying or returning.

A similar pattern was exhibited by Maria[29], who also defined her length of stay in the UK in advance. A minor difference between those two participants existed as Maria highlighted her truly financial motivation to migrate. She mentioned how important

[28] Anna, was a 28 years old, female participant. She got a MSc degree in Poland. She came to the UK for 1 month. She was self-employed in Poland.

[29] Maria was a 23 years old Polish student. She finished her bachelor's degree, and she continued her master studies in Poland. Maria migrated for 3 months.

was for her to earn extra money as she needed money to continue her studies in Poland. Similarly, both women used their social networks to come to the UK (Boyd 1989, p.651), (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468), (Ryan et al. 2009, p.63). While financial opportunities seemed to be fairly important for the participants to travel and spend some time abroad, Maria highlighted that she did not consider migration as a part of her future life. She clearly voiced her position that she considered migration as a failure. In her opinion, migration was a viable solution only for those, who were not successful in Poland, and did not have any other option but migration (see Natalia and Robert below).

The temporary migration approach was also presented by the participants, who moved to the UK because of financial reasons, but did not return after a predefined time. Their goal was to stay in the UK for a sufficient amount of time that would allow them to reach financial stability in the country of origin e.g. to build or buy a property, or pay back debts. The participants' objectives were clearly defined, and they seemed to present a purposeful relationship to the time lived in the UK (Griffiths et al. 2013). For example, Klara and her husband accepted poor living conditions when living in the UK, because they wanted to save money for their house in Poland and return to their country of origin after a clearly predefined length of stay abroad. Klara was interviewed in Poland (as a returnee), where she already returned with her family after 12 years in the UK with, since they saved enough money to build their dream house.

> *We wanted to save as much money as possible, so we paid attention to the living costs. We did not want to be in the UK permanently, we had a goal to return to our country.* (Klara 6R:18)

Some of the participants tended to plan longer period of stay in the UK in advance (e.g. 5 years). But when the assumed time passed, some participants extended their stay in the UK. This was the case of Klara, who extended her time in the UK by six years, but finally returned to Poland. Likewise, Darek emphasised that he only wanted to stay in the UK for five years. At the time of the interview for this project, Darek had already been in the UK 12 years, but interestingly he still emphasized the temporary nature of his stay abroad without any specific end-date for the migration. Darek wanted to save enough to complete construction of his house in Poland, but his family situation was different from Klara's because his family (wife and two sons) waited for him in Poland. He said:

I came here because of a few reasons [laugh]. To be honest... the money was not the most important goal. The money was some motivation for sure... I left family [in Poland], it is a fact. The plan was to stay only five years. [Pause] This time was extended [laugh], but the value of the pound decreased from seven złoty PLN... the value decreased...and different life... a man was free everywhere, without responsibilities and debts. I just had my credit card and I paid everywhere where I wanted. (Darek 04:02)

The participants, who prolonged their final return to Poland, seemed to retain their migration motivation and they still kept open the possibility of returning to Poland. Bozena[30] was the first person from her family to migrate to the UK. Her husband joined her along with their children, but he did not quit his job in Poland. He was on (unpaid) parental leave in Poland, which gave them security that he had employment after return. He would not have a discontinuous employment history and he would not have to look for a new job when Bożena and her family returned to Poland. Therefore, his membership rights were secured in the country of origin as important for this security and belonging experiences (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Among the participants, there were differences in relation to class, which could impact their experiences of belonging. The participants highlighted financial motivation but in practice their experiences were different, therefore it was important to include an intersectional approach in the analyses (Runyan 2018). The intersectional differences were not always easy to identify. The intersectional cross-cut categories were easier to find out in comparison between all participants in different groups (see Chapter 8).

5.2.2 Assumption of temporary stay and emotional motivations

Some participants also reported a more emotional need (3 participants) to migrate, but they still defined time (length of stay) they would spend in the UK in advance. For example, Aneta[31] wanted to experience something new in her life, and she planned to move to the UK for her postgraduate studies, and then return to Poland. She wanted to experience another EU country and use time abroad as additional experience to enhance the prospects for her future career. After graduation from the university in the UK, she eventually extended her time in the UK. However, she did not give up her prior idea of returning to Poland, and finally after 11 years of migration, Aneta and her husband returned to Poland.

[30] Bożena was a 39 years old women, married, and had 5 children (2 months, 3, 5, 11, 16 years old). She stayed in the UK for 3 years and she returned to Poland 3 years ago.

[31] Aneta was a 35 years old, married and had one child (almost 9 years old). She was 12 years in the UK. The interview was conducted after one year 1 Poland.

It was not planned to stay so long. I did not want to migrate permanently. I always was somewhere in between. A part of me was in Poland.

(Aneta 1R:02)

Romantic relationship was also the another reason of migration for some (2) participants (Favell 2011). Those participants also retained an assumption of retuning to Poland. Małgorzata[32] decided to join her husband in the UK. She considered her migration to be an adventure, but she did not want to leave their life in Poland, so she become a circular, transnational migrant. She decided to travel between Poland and the UK in order to continue working in Poland, but she did not transfer her skills to the UK and her professional life was still in Poland (Favell 2011, p.229). She highlighted her strong attachment to Poland because of her family and her work. She still spent a lot of time in Poland for both of those reasons.

Life in the UK... it is good, and comfortable... but it is more for my husband. I still feel more like a guest. I am aware that people, who look at me or who are British, always treat me as a stranger or an outsider. I feel it like that. I will never feel welcome here [in the UK]. It is a reason why I want to return to Poland, it could be also a sentimental attachment. Maybe after some time it would be less significant, I do not know. (Małgorzata 42:17)

Similarly, migration because of a romantic relationship was Dorota's[33] experience. She migrated because she fell in love with a British citizen, who was born in the UK, had British origin, and lived in the UK. They married, and she spent 10 years in the UK, but she still highlighted the temporary nature of her stay in the UK. She seemed to think of their temporary stay in the UK as a safe option for her. She had her life in the UK with her husband, but her social networks appeared still to be narrow even if she had been living for years in the UK (Bidart & Lavenu 2005, p.362-363). Poland seemed to be for her homeland, where she could feel more secure and attached (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore 2017). One strong anchor, which linked Dorota with Poland, was her professional skills, which were not easily transferable (Ryan 2018*b*, p.240);(Erel & Ryan 2018, p.12). Dorota was a speech therapist in Poland.

I worked legally [in the UK] but I did not intent to stay permanently in England. (Dorota 13:16)

[32]Małgorzata was a 29 years old, married women. She was a circular migrant for 5 years.

[33]Dorota was 55 years old, married women and did not have any children. She moved to the UK and stayed for 10 years.

I very often visit Poland. I thought about returning and working [there] I could do it, because there I could do speech therapy... and I could open a private practice. I feel free to make decision. (Dorota 13:67)

Dorota's example seemed to be more complex, because her husband did not want to move to Poland, she was financially dependent on her husband in the UK, her intention to return seemed to be more a wish, and her belonging experiences were seen as emotionally related to Poland. She cherished the myth of return (White 2014*b*) and she enjoyed visiting Poland where she had a house, which she inherited from her parents. Her identification, attachment, and most of her experiences with social membership were based in her country of origin. This shows that in some cases, the motivations and temporary assumptions were created emotionally. This also showed that the participants could live in the UK for many years, but never truly consider themselves as belonging to the country of destination. Therefore, the length of stay might not be the significant trigger to change their belonging experiences (cf. Paine 1993, White 2014*a*, p.225-227),(Ryan & D'Angelo 2018, p.6). Dorota's wish to return could still be strong and actively present in her plans, even if she still had strong anchors and attachment to the UK. The strong orientation on return confounded the idea of temporal-territorial belonging discussed by Yuval-Davis (2011*b*), which is also present in the UK and Polish policy. Dorota's personal experiences showed that personal orientation on return could be evident, even if there were circumstances in the participants' life, which could imply that she did not have any reasons to return to their country of origin.

5.3 Polish identification – individual level

The participants, who intended and highlighted their temporary stay in the UK, had also experiences of their identification and belonging, which seemed to be linked with their temporary orientation on migration and their wish to return to Poland. The creation of the identification appeared to be related to the participants' experiences of belonging to their country of origin. One could conclude that migration did not impact the participants' identity, because they emphasised their belonging to and identification with the country of origin. Some participants seemed to easily describe themselves as Polish citizens and as belonging to Poland. In addition, the interviews with the participants did not raise any doubts about their identification during the stay abroad. For them, it was clear where they belonged (cf. Chapter 7).

Based on what we are talking about... I am Polish. (Anna 09:47)

I am Polish. I do not bother about formalities and I do not think about passport, and I could live anywhere and everywhere... but I am Polish

(Maria 20:35)

The feeling of belonging to Poland was strongly expressed by identifying with Poland. Despite the fact that Maria said that she could live anywhere[34], she repeated several time in the interview that she identifies with Poland. The experiences were not fixed and were more complicated, because the migration processes and transnational life had an impact on their experiences. The migration shaped the participants' identification process, especially for the migrants, who felt themselves outsiders and strangers in the new society (Ryan 2010, p.361). Being an outsider increased their identification with Poland, in particular, as a place which they remembered in an idealized way (White 2014*b*). The participants, who did not feel comfortable in the new society, seemed to remember the most pleasant events and to preserve the positive memories from the country of origin. For them, it became emotionally difficult to overtake a barrier to identify with the UK, as they did not feel comfortable in the country of destination. The participants showed their need to feel secure, which was important in the creation of social anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore 2017). If the participants did not feel part of society, they did not feel confident. However, there was one participant, whose experiences appeared to be stronger than simply *not feeling easy* and fundamental to her selfhood. Natalia[35] showed difficulties in feeling anchored in the UK, because she seemed not to be confident that she was worthy to be in the new society (Anderson 2013, p.47). Therefore, she cherished thinking of the place, which she remembered to feel secure and accepted (White 2014*a*).

My heart is in Poland. I left my heart there. I feel an outcast. What can I do, what could I offer to this society? [Crying]. (Natalia 24:72)

Although Natalia's example was the strongest in terms of difficulty in self-defining in the transnational migration process, many participants included in this group emphasised similarities in increasing their Polishness through migration experiences. In their life abroad, they searched for any contact with Poland or Polish communities. Their patriotic feelings towards the country of origin became more intense, for example, as in the case of Robert[36].

[34]which contradicted the Prime Minister Teresa May speech: *If you believe you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere, you don't understand what citizenship means* (Taylor 2018)

[35]Natalia was 34 years old married women. She did not have children. She migrated to the UK and stayed for 9 years.

[36]Robert was 37 years old, single male participant. He migrated for 3 months as a seasonal worker

I am Polish, of course I am Polish. After I migrated, my identity was reasserted in myself. It is not that it [my identity] is softened. I am more and more [Polish]... I feel more Polish. Moreover, I spoke to young people here [in the UK], to the altar boys... and I said to them that remember you must speak Polish, remember you aren't anonymous here, who are unseen in the crowd. Take care of everything i.e. your roots and traditions. As John Paul II said 'Do not cut a branch on which we all sit.' In this way... It is good that we feel stronger in our Polishness. I am proud of being Polish. Furthermore, we have rich Polish history. (Robert 32:29)

Interestingly, Robert projected his own experiences on other people (e.g. altar boys serving in the Polish parish). He was concerned that they might lose their connection to Poland, and also wished that they might return to Poland. His justification to return was based on national interest, in which, the responsibilities of Polish citizens were seen as to live and work (pay taxes) in Poland. Therefore, migration was seen as a mark of an individual failure (see Maria), and also for Poland owing to the brain drain to the economy (Straubhaar 2000). Moreover, the responsibilities to the homeland seemed to be seen as important and had to be fulfilled so they had to return and live in Poland. The responsibilities mentioned in the literature are often related with ageing parents, which migrants were willing or should respect (Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski 2009);(Ryan et al. 2009, p.74);(Engbersen et al. 2013, p.936); (Ryan & Mulholland 2014*b*, p.209);(Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1213) but not necessarily with abstract thinking of the homeland as a place where the citizens should live. The literature reflects on the impact done by migrants sending remittances (Guarnizo et al. 2003, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, p.145), which however do not necessarily have to be linked with living in the country, as opposed to the impact caused citizens living in the country, paying taxes and voting. However, some participants such as Robert and Bożena justified their decision of return based on patriotic values, which seemed to be significant for them.

I am responsible for the country, and if I am responsible for Poland, then I could expect that the country would support me. These words meant a lot for me. I always had been a patriot. My father taught me patriotic values. (Bożena 3R:78)

Based on their strong association with patriotic values, Bożena and her husband decided to return to Poland even against their children's wishes. They had 5 children, and the older ones (age 11 and 16 years old) did not want to return. The parents' approach to their Polish identification, belonging, and patriotism appeared to be a factor strong enough for their decision making process about return. The children's attendance in

school in the UK did not change the decision to return (cf. White 2014*a*, p.76), however the return might be extended until the school term was ended (Perista 2014, p.155-156).

The similarities between participants' experiences analysed in this group showed their thinking temporally about migration, but not necessary in the same way. The migration was seen as short-term project, but temporality was defined differently and it was a dynamic process, which appeared to be linked with experiencing Polish identification. Their identification with Poland was important for them, they might look for the same safe reference point (Grzymała-Moszczyńska 2014), however the participants seemed to not be limited by their identification experiences. They seemed to feel that they could migrate and live anywhere, but they knew that one day they wanted to return to their homeland. The actual limitation for return could be financial, which could indicate that social class played an important role in their identification and belonging experiences (Eade et al. 2006, p.31). The participants could not be differentiated in terms of social class (either in the country of origin, or during the stay in the UK), but the financial motivation of migration for most participants (13) was an important factor for migration consideration.

5.3.1 Coherence of parents' and children's identification

The reflection of the participants' identification showed also that they seemed to similarly describe and think about their dependent children's identification. The way that the participants presented their children's identification showed that they did not have any doubts how to label their and their children's identity. In their understanding, the children belonged to the parents, and the parents were Polish, the children were also Polish. Furthermore it was not important for the parents where the children were born. For the participants, their own and their children's identification could work as a push factor to return to their country of origin (Ryan & Sales 2013, p.100). However, it remains unclear in this research whether children living with the parents in the migration country could push them to settle down in the country of destination (Favell 2011, p.112). In this group, there were the participants either, who had children in the UK (7 participants, and 5 of them decided to return (returnees) having children of school age), or the participants (4 participants, and 1 of them planned to return) living in the UK having children in the sending country. In both cases, there could be other factors, which led to make decision about return. However, for the participants, whose children lived in Poland, the children could be seen as a stronger factor, which increased their thinking to return to their country of origin. Additionally, for those migrants, the social networks in Poland were also significant (cf. Levitt 2001, Koelet et al. 2017, p.443-444).

Importantly, in these analyses the children's identification was evaluated based on their parents' experiences.

> *I am 100% Polish as I mentioned at the beginning, I always feel that I am Polish. I always emphasised that I am Polish. I am proud when I say where I come from. People did not recognise where I am from based on my accent, and they asked me where are you from? I always confirmed that I am from Poland not from Holland. It is important for me. Similarly my child, she proudly said that she is Polish.* (Aneta 1R:45)

Such transfer of identification from parents to children was contradictory to the statements from the interviews with the policy experts, which were conducted for the TRANSWEL project (Carmel et al. 2019). The policy experts highlighted that the children of Polish migrants, who were born in the UK, are lost to Poland. Policy experts assumed that such children would never return to Poland, therefore, the children were never Polish, despite the fact that some of the participants in this group applied for a Polish citizenship and passport for their children.

5.4 Attachments to Poland – collective level

For the participants in this group, the attachment experiences were oriented on Poland, similarly to the participants' identification. For the participants, family, home, and professional status were significant objects of their attachment experiences. The class position of participants seemed to be higher before migration, therefore, in the analyses intersectional categories were important to understand the creation of belonging experiences (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012, Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, p.4).

5.4.1 Family and friends as transnational social networks

Firstly, the participants kept their ties and networks with family and Polish friends. Their social networks become transnational because of migration experiences (Ryan et al. 2009, p.65). The close ties with family and friends were significant for them, no matter where the migrants lived (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468). Their identification was attached to the country where they came from, moreover their emotional attachment was linked to a local place, from which they originally came from. The participants clearly did not want to lose the attachments which were related to the social networks (Ryan et al. 2009, p.74);(Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, p.209);(Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1213). For some of the participants, the closest family lived in Poland,

so it was even more natural for them to keep their social networks and prioritise them among others (Ryan 2018*a*, p.245). The participants refereed that their *true life* was in Poland, even if they often spent more time in the UK. Attachment as part of belonging experiences seemed to be more significantly linked with the family social network than the work related environment. Slightly different attachments were seen for the participants, who migrated with their family members to the UK (Boyd 1989, p.351-352);(Koelet et al. 2017, p.445), as their social networks were stronger in the UK. In both however, social networks played an important role in experiences of attachment and migration experiences.

Importantly, the participants found new communication technology helpful for staying in touch with their relatives and friends in Poland using different software and applications such as Skype, Messenger, WhatsApp, and Facebook (Vertovec 2004, p.447);(Morosanu 2013, p.359). They used those technologies to facilitate regular contact with the closest social circles including family members.

> *You know I am here [in the UK], and I skype with my friend, because we miss each other. I speak to my parents via Messenger, phone, and WhatsApp.*
>
> (Anna 09:35)

The possibility of accessing relatively cheaper flights to the UK in comparison to other migration destinations (e.g. USA) enhanced travel and connections with family in Poland, even if they were in different cities in Poland.

> *I often travel to Poland. I travelled once a month, or half of year. Now it is a longer period of absence, but later on I will have a summer holiday with my family. I was on Christmas, then in February, and Easter in Poland.*
>
> (Darek 04:57)

Secondly, the importance of family social networks appeared also between generations. Roberta[37] (the sole grandmother among the participants in this group) was a mother of two adult daughters. She planned her migration to be temporary for a maximum of five years. She extended her stay, but when she became a grandmother, her need to return to Poland increased. The new family situation seemed to be a trigger factor for her to make the final decision about return. That situation convinced her not to extend her migration time further. While Roberta always thought of Poland as her home and she did not want to spend her life in the UK, she needed a turning point in her life to return to Poland. The day of birth of her first granddaughter was such a point, and

[37] Roberta was a 59 years divorced women and had two daughters in Poland. She was in the UK for 7 years.

from that day, Roberta did not want to miss more days of her family life.

In addition, the parents, who migrated to the UK in this group, wanted to sustain and facilitate the relationship between their children and grandparents. One of the ways to establish a stronger relationship between generations was actually to return to Poland. Therefore, the participants, who were parents, emphasised the significance of taking care of children in a good environment for growing up, and for them, this meant returning to Poland. Thinking about their children's future, could cause their migration plan to be temporary. However, this perspective contrasted with some other participants in the next chapter (cf. Chapter 6), as those participants, who were parents, considered raising children in the UK as a better opportunity for them, and the grandparents might be present in grandchildren's life by travelling to the UK (Ryan et al. 2009, p.71). *Flying grandmothers* were an exemplar of keeping ties with grandparents and furthermore as a way to take care of ageing parents by bringing them to the UK (Nesteruk & Marks 2009, Zontini 2004).

> *When our son was born, we became more open to think about returning to Poland, before we did not even think about it. But when I see our son I know that it was a good decision.* (Andrzej 4R:75)

> *I am happy that we returned, because our son is so happy. Our son does not want to move anywhere again, even for a short trip, because he is afraid that we will not return. He does not want to hear about the UK. Everything was new in the UK, but here [in Poland] he has a cousin and grandparents.* (Andrzej, Katarzyna 4R:73-74)

Finally, the relationship between generations (grandparents and grandchildren) was also significant in the context of providing care. The grandparents could also be seen as the care-providers for dependent grandchildren. Such help from grandparents facilitated support for parents in their daily life, especially, for those employed full-time. For example, Faustyna[38] had her mother's support in taking care of children, therefore, she decided to return.

5.4.2 Feeling at home

The attachment expressed in social networks in Poland appeared to be coherent with strong attachment to the place, in which, the participants seemed to feel safe and could call home (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, Janeta 2011). Some of them, linked this deep

[38] Faustyna was a 31 years old women, married and had two children (5 and 9 years old). She was in the UK for 4 years and returned to Poland 5 years ago.

emotional feeling with an actual building, which they bought or built in Poland. The participants expressed positive memories of Poland, therefore they seemed to create a space in the UK similar to Poland, to create a new homeland.

5.4.2.1 Owning house - having home

On the one hand, those, who migrated seemed to express a clearly defined motivation to earn money to buy or build a property, appeared to have a strong emotional attachment to a place, which they owned such a property and to which they transferred all savings during the stay abroad. So when they finally returned to their property, which was their home, their dreams came true (there were 4 participants who retuned and explicitly expressed that they realised their dreams). For example, Klara migrated to the UK for 12 years in order to earn money to build her own house in Poland and to build up her savings for future. During this period, Klara and her husband systematically transferred their savings to Poland and they bought an unfinished house in close proximity to Klara's grandparents. Having someone in Poland, who could look after completion and decoration of house, was important for them.

On the other hand, the participants with a strong orientation to return, could also have ambivalent, dynamic, and complex experiences. Andrzej[39] migrated temporarily to the UK, but he and his wife also were gifted a plot in Poland from a family member, and they decided to build a house there. Shortly afterwards they started to question the sense of this decision, however they returned to Poland. In their case, the newly built house become a main reason to return. The complexity of the decision was related to the significance of the received plot seen as family heritage, thus having emotional meaning. Andrzej explained it as follows:

> *We got accustomed to the city [in the UK], and we asked ourselves why we built a house in Poland. Everything was new in the UK, the career went well.* (Andrzej 4R:24)

Eventually, they negotiated between themselves and made their temporary decision to spend one year in Poland with an open-ended option. This instability seemed to provide them some sense of security that they still could double return to the UK (White 2014*b*). For Andrzej, the decision of return seemed to have underlying reasons, in which positive and negative motivations were mixed together. His growing son and a new house were in Poland, but he also seemed to appreciate living conditions in the UK, and he was

[39] Andrzej was 39 years old, married and had one child. He migrated in 2004, and after some time his former fiancé, now wife, joined him. He was in the UK for 12 years. The interview was conducted after one 5 months in Poland.

afraid to reduce his financial flexibility he had before.

Some of the stories seemed to be unproblematic, but for some participants (e.g. Maria, or Natalia) experiences were more complex and subject of change. The unpredictable future and situation could cause distress, which did not help to create and shape the participants' attachment and belonging (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Looking for a place, where they might not challenge their belonging, might also cause worries that their return will be seen as a failure (White 2014*a*), and they would be considered unsuccessful by themselves and more importantly by others (e.g. family members, local society) as it was highlighted in the policy expert's discourse (Carmel et al. 2019).

5.4.2.2 Creating *second best* Poland

The participants, discussed in this chapter, had generally positive memories and associations with Poland (White 2014*a*), so they attempted to copy traditions, which they used to have in Poland. They seemed to link the two places by the practices and by means of transnational opportunities such as Polish shops, TV, newspapers (Schiller et al. 1995, p.49). The participants seemed to wish to have *second-best* Poland in the UK. The term second-best Poland was often used by the participants during the interviews. This term was understood as a space, where the migrants could feel as in Poland, almost at home.

The second-best Poland was created by various practices, which could be in general called Polishness. Polishness could be understood as Polish migrants' practices, which were performed abroad, and which linked attachment to Polish traditions and culture (to create the UK-based replacement of Poland - second best Poland). Therefore, Polishness was understood as the elements of Poland, which appeared frequently during the time of migration, and were important for the participants for both special events, and in daily life. In other words, Polishness could be something that the participants did when they missed Poland in the UK, for example, buying Polish food directly from Polish shops, which were available in many cities and towns in the UK (Ryan et al. 2009, p.374); (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). In addition, the term Polishness could also be used to describe the way how Polish migrants spent their free time, or how they chose people they spent time with, and the places which they visited. They seemed to spend time with other Polish migrants, and work in co-ethnic environments (Ryan et al. 2009, p.374). Polishness could also be considered as a set of attributes that were important for Polish migrants such as faith, traditions, Polish newspapers and TV, and Polish Saturday schools (White 2014*a*, p.76). Finally, the most frequently presented element of feeling as if they were in Poland while in the UK, was Polish cuisine. Polish migrants

bought Polish products in Polish shops, because such products were not available in other shops in the UK, for example, pickles, kefir [40].

> *Oh! Polish shops, Polish food... [I] rely on Polish shops. Or on food from my mother. She brought food with her when she visited us. It was obvious that I did shopping in Polish shops and I cooked something. We had Polish TV and access to Polish websites.* (Faustyna 7R:19)

Bringing back memories from childhood, it appeared that some of the participants preferred to eat Polish food, so they exercised the opportunities to use Polish shops and restaurants in the UK. The Polish products are available often in major supermarkets in the UK, where Polish migrants could also buy typical Polish products.

> *Food [laugh]... this is a reason why I want to return to Poland [pause]. I am laughing, but food is horrible in the UK. (...) If you want to eat a tasty meal, you have to go to a Polish restaurant.* (Małgorzata 42:25)

Polish food was also considered a significant element in celebrating Polish traditions, in particular Christmas and Easter. Moreover, the participants looked for a Polish community, which provided the emotional comfort of sharing the same traditions. The migrants felt more comfortable among other Polish migrants (Ryan et al. 2009, p.374). The participants discussed in this chapter enhanced their Polish traditions by celebrating them in the UK as well. Some traditions were recognised as truly Polish such as Christmas Eve or blessing of Easter food, and the participants presented the preference to attend Polish mass services in the UK to feel a similar atmosphere to that, which they used to experience when they lived in Poland.

> *Our child attended Polish Saturday School. She took part in the Christmas play. Of course we prepared traditional Christmas when we were in the UK. (...) If we were [in the UK], we organised Christmas Eve, we went to Polish catholic church [in the UK]. We were for Easter in the UK, and we went to the church for traditional Polish food blessing. We attended Polish service in that season... It was more Polish.* (Aneta 1R:34)

For some practices, language skills could be important, and sometimes, the extended length of stay did not increase the language capacity enough to attend catholic service in English (cf. Martinovic et al. 2009, Martinović 2013). However, church-going was not common among the participants in daily (or weekly) life routine. They rather

[40] Pickles [pl. Kiszone ogórki], the sour pickles, which are often added to traditional Polish dishes. Kefir is a fermented milk drink. Those products, are commonly known and used in Poland, however before globalisation typical Polish products were almost unobtainable outside the country.

emphasised significance of the presence at the church only once a year (blessing of Easter food) or twice a year (Christmas). In all interviews, the attendance to the church was rather infrequently highlighted, therefore was considered as a less significant element of Polishness.

Additionally, the creation of second-best Poland was also seen in possessing social networks. Polish communities and Polish friends seemed to help the participants to feel more comfortable abroad (Boyd 1989, p.651); (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468); (Ryan et al. 2009, p.63). Interestingly, when asked explicitly about friends, the majority of participants highlighted that they did not pay attention to the nationality of their friends, however, when the migrants were asked about their actual social networks, they listed mainly Polish friends. Małgorzata, and Dorota were, in particular, the most prominent examples as follows:

> *I do not have many Polish friends here. I know Anna, she has British husband. She is really great. (...) I know also Beata who is a doctor, and she is always busy. There is also Bogusia. She is a little bit weird. She is not my close friend, I tolerate her. She visits me only when she needs something.* (Dorota 13:46)

Besides, it seemed to the participants, who experienced some barriers (e.g. language) in the UK, to be natural to have only Polish friends, and being among other Polish migrants helped such migrants feel emotionally better (Dominguez & Maya-Jariego 2008, p.322). From a practical point of view, it was seen in participants' experiences that they might receive help from other Polish migrants, who had English language capacity or had relevant knowledge to support (Boyd 1989, p.651); (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468); (Ryan et al. 2009, p.63). The participants mentioned also that Polish employees in various institutions in the UK helped to access services without speaking English fluently. Natalia looked for a Polish hairdresser and Polish cosmetics, because she had a language barrier, and she also did not trust that the quality of work of people other than Poles would be satisfactory. The participants in this group seemed to look for co-ethnic community (Dominguez & Maya-Jariego 2008, p.322), and it might be part of their attachment to and creation of the second-best Poland.

5.4.3 Attachment via employment and status in Poland

The attachment to Poland seemed to be enhanced by the difference of social status of the participants in the UK and in Poland. Nine participants, who were professionally employed in Poland, appeared to experience deskilling process at the beginning of mi-

gration to the UK. The migrants tended to accept low-skilled and low-paid jobs in their migration process despite having higher education (Drinkwater et al. 2009, Currie 2016, Nowicka 2012, p.7). They might not have enough English language skills (Dominguez & Maya-Jariego 2008, Lubbers et al. 2010, Koelet et al. 2017, p.444), which might change over time (Martinovic et al. 2009, Martinović 2013), or the participants might be afraid and not confident enough in the new country. For them, previous employment in Poland became an anchor (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016), which kept the participants attached to Poland. Professional employment had a strong impact on participants' thinking about belonging and attachment to the place and the country. Dorota would have liked to have a job, which was appropriate her qualifications. Since this was not possible in the UK, she only mentioned her professional career in Poland. It gave the impression that she missed being engaged in her job as she used to be.

> *I really liked my work. It was a very good job. I was a specialist psychologist, and speech therapist in the hospital. I helped to reduce speech disorders which people experienced. I was a professor's assistant. I also had a private practice.* (Dorota 13:04)

Emotional attachment to Poland, lack of belonging to the society, and the deskilling process had a significant impact on participants' thinking of Poland and their life in the UK. Natalia was living in the UK, because she joined her husband, but she saw her migration as a failure from an employment and career perspective (cf. White 2014*a*, p.82); (cf. Chapter 7, see Chapter 3). The deskilling process could only make the process of attachment and belonging more challenging and complex. As a consequence, she seemed to feel isolated from professional attachment, and from social networks in the country of destination (Mellor et al. 2008, p.213). In Poland, she had better financial possibilities and could realise her ambitions, thus she cherished positive memories of Poland, which might increase pondering about return to Poland (White 2014*a*, p.75), especially that her situation in the UK seemed to position her in a lower social class than she experienced before migration. This could provide insight that the class as part of the intersectional approach, was important in creation of attachment and belonging experiences (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.8). She also felt that she did not have flourishing career in the UK, so her professional position was lower as well.

I did not have to rent a flat [in Poland], because I bought one for myself, so it was different... It is easy to buy a car here, but I had a car in Poland. The class of car was good and not available for ordinary people. I travelled for a holiday from the UK after 2.5 years of being in the UK. When I lived in Poland I travelled abroad 2-3 times per year. And I did not have financial problems. (...) Here I experienced a worse financial situation. And it is worse from the perspective of my career and money. (Natalia 24:50)

Małgorzata and her husband experienced differences in experiences of belonging. The difference of experiences of attachment were linked to the type of employment. Małogorzata was employed only in Poland, and her employment was increasing her social anchors (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017) to Poland, thus she kept her option to return permanently to Poland alive during the migration. Meantime, her husband was employed in the UK, and he seemed to possess stronger attachment to the UK.

I am not engaged professionally here, it is something which keeps me more in Poland. (Małgorzata 42:17)

5.4.4 Return to Poland and consequences of the migration

The returnees analysed in this chapter recognised the advantage of return to Poland, especially in the context of care provision for their children by other family members, and an opportunity for them to build relationships with their grandparents and extended family members.

There are many positives of return. My child can meet grandparents every month, and play with them. She can play with a dog. We can meet extended family as well, and it is a huge advantage of return (...) and we bought a dream property, which was a reason to return. (Aneta 1R:223)

The participants discussed in this chapter experienced belonging, which appeared to be a link with temporary migration and an assumption of the ultimate return to the country of origin. Then, the returning participants could experience that their return to the country of origin was not necessarily a return to home, they left before migration. The actual return frequently seemed to end as ambivalent experience, and migration is presented as dynamic and unfinished process even after the return. The concept of double return, proposed by White (2014*a*, p.75), captures this migrants' ambivalence, their struggles and challenges met after dreamed return to Poland came true. Interestingly, keeping the option open for a double return, appeared to create the participants an alternative opportunity to sustain emotionally when trying to a new, *old home*. Despite

belonging being to be located in Poland, factual experiences of returnees showed an unfinished migration narrative, which materialise only when the participants returned and faced the actual place, not romanticize memories that they might have living abroad (White 2014*a*).

> *For sure I am Polish. I did not know that the UK had changed something in me. I did not know it until I returned to Poland.* (Andrzej 4R:63)

Finally, when they returned to a new place in Poland, they had to somehow build their entire life from scratch again. The returning migrants had to create a home space, reorganise family life (e.g. find a school for children), and find or adapt to a new job in a new environment. In the returning process, they often met difficulties and disappointments, creating feelings of being alone in their home country, and the dream place of their migration being foreign.

> *We did not return home, I mean... we did not return to our home village, where we grew up. We are in a city that is new to us. There are things, which are difficult to accept, and [missing things] which I accustomed in the UK.* (Aneta 1R:130)

The participants might unconsciously have created social anchors that attached them to the places and objects of attachment in the UK (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). The returning migrants could face various obstacles in the country of origin after return, but those who managed to survive could celebrate finally successful[41] end of their migration journey ending in settlement in Poland. However, not all stories ended up in the migration happy-end (in this chapter meant by a successful return to the country of origin), thus some migrants became double returnees (White 2014*a*, p.75) to the UK, which might cause of a transition process between the different forms of belonging experiences (see an example of settlement form described in Chapter 6). The migration experiences might change the participants' attachment, and the migrants could get *stuck* in mobility Morokvasic (2004). The transnational migration could impact the participants, and so they could not attach themselves to any place which they call home any longer, or alternatively, they could find home everywhere. The belonging and thus attachment experiences might be negotiated constantly by the participants, and the participants could be embedding in one country more than in another, because of the embedding process, which might not have the end as dynamic process (Ryan

[41] I was in touch with Andrzej, and after 1 year and 5 months I contacted him again when I was writing this chapter, Andrzej found a satisfactory job and they still lived in Poland, and they did not want to double return to the UK. They coped with the most difficult part of return and they did not give up.

2018*a*, p.242).

5.5 Social membership – institutional level

The Polish participants included in this chapter, who seemed to intend to stay temporarily in the UK, experienced social membership differently. There was a distinctive division between the participants, who planned and stayed for a short time in the UK (roughly less than 4 months), and the participants, who lived temporarily in the UK, but prolonged their stay abroad. The first group, staying in the UK less than 4 months, contained seasonal workers (3 participants). Their social membership was mostly shaped by their assumption made from the beginning of their migration, that they could not experience any type of social membership because they were not eligible to claim social rights in the UK. Their only expectation to exercise social rights was focused on the EHIC card, as the migrants were aware that they should have access to the health care system (the NHS) in case of emergency in the UK. In general, they did not bother to access any other type of the social entitlements. This was in contrast to the participants, who extended their temporary stay in the UK beyond 4 months, and wanted to achieve their long-term financial goals (17 participants). Those migrants highlighted their awareness of, in some sense, their social membership rights based on their contributions paid to the UK by working in the UK, and so their approach seemed to be rather utilitarian to social membership.

5.5.1 (Un)knowledgeability of social membership

The participants, who wanted and stayed only for a short period in the UK, highlighted that they did not experience any form of social membership because of their lack of will to settle in the UK. Therefore, it could be concluded that the participants related their social membership to their residency. What is more, the participants gave the impression that they did not link the social membership to the membership of their country of origin in the EU. Similarly, they seemed to not think about themselves as full EU citizens (except acknowledging some importance of the EHIC card), and they did not recognise their entitlement to access to local (national) social rights based on their rights from institutional structures of the EU. In theory, the EU entitles the migrants including the Polish migrants to gain access to the social security system if the migrants fulfil some requirements (Paul 2013, p.122-123). The participants gave the impression that they did not consider social membership transnationally (Kofman 2004*b*, p.648);(Schiller et al. 1995, p.49), or they seemed not to consider the need of transnational social membership and portability of their social security rights when

they migrated for a limited, predefined time. Temporary stay in the UK created an illusion of secure atmosphere, even without any familiarity about access to the social security rights abroad. From the participants' perspective, they thought that in a short time nothing would go wrong, and in the case of emergency, they still might return to Poland.

> *I do not have card [EHIC]. I do not know what I will do in the case of emergency. I think I do not have any insurance, because I did not arrange anything like that. I think if I came for a long time, let's say for a few months or more then I would buy the health insurance, and apply for the EHIC... For two weeks I did not think about it at all.* (Robert 32:15)

However, the interviewed participants appeared not to have sufficient knowledge of how the social system works in the UK, and how they could exercise their EU rights in the UK. For example, Anna thought that only Polish migrants, whose children were born in the UK, were eligible to access the social security system. It rather showed that thinking of social membership was influenced by beliefs and gossip widely spread among some migrants in the UK. When checking eligibility to claim benefits, the length of residency, the actual employment prospects, and the reasons for migration to the UK, are taken into consideration by the authorities (Kennedy 2011, p.3-4). The short stay in the UK could, however, pose curbs on gaining access to social security system, as the length of stay one of several eligibility criteria when applying for some social membership rights (e.g. at least three months for Child Benefit) (Cinar 1994, p.56);(Golden 2002, p.20).

The participants also claimed, they, as the migrants, did not possess similar rights in the UK to British citizens. In their narration, the rights might be actually equal, but it would be an idealistic interpretation only, while in practice, the participants saw themselves as guests in the UK, thus they assumed that they did not possess the same rights as the British citizens. Generally, the participants discussed in this chapter, gave the impression of not considering their stay in the UK as settlement. Therefore, they might not attempt to build their emotional and professional attachments and social anchors (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016) to the new place and the new country, thus they limited their experience of any form of social membership in the UK. Additionally, the participants might not have genuine information about their rights, they created their vision of social security rights based on informal information only, which they could not confirm at the source. Similar gossips and misinformation were voiced by the significant others (7) in Poland, therefore, stereotypes about social membership in the UK seemed to be widely spread among not only between the participants in the UK but also the significant others in the country of origin.

5.5.2 Contributory social membership

The living cost in the UK were considered by the participants as relatively high especially by the participants with families. The financial stability of the participants was not directly related to social security rights, but financial support received from the social security system was a part of the household budget for some participants. Social membership of the participants was constructed based on their work contributions. They linked their rights with their contributions to the state, thus from their perspective, the migrants, who did not contribute to the society were not eligible to access social security rights. This could be considered as part of their attachment and social anchoring because it gave them financial security and stability (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, p.1131). For them, their *real life* was in Poland, but they saw themselves as deserving to claim benefits in the UK because they worked and paid taxes in the UK[42]

> *I received what I had earned myself. I do not want [benefits]. I came here, it is a shame, but I cannot imagine that my wife has to work, if I should receive [benefits]. I do not want anything which I did not earn myself. Do you understand? It is obvious that I am not perfect, but I try not to cheat.*
> (Darek 04:71)

> *I did not take any social benefits for 12 years, only family benefits which were due to me. I did not come here to claim benefits. You have to work if you want to claim. You have to work legally, and be registered. If you are not registered how would they give you benefits? You have to be registered and based on it they give you benefits. They check everything, whether you are registered, and whether you work.* (Patryk 30:76)

Reflecting on the participants' approach, it appeared that the social security system available in the UK and migrants' approach to it was nuanced by interesting, migrants' hand-crafted criteria. Firstly, the participants might experience claiming benefits as public stigmatisation due to existing media and political discourses (Anderson 2013, p.49);(Blinder & Allen 2011, p.2). The migrants identified the difference between in-work and out-of-work benefits, and link it with public concern of claiming benefits leading to stigmatisation. Due to fears being stigmatised, the participants were striving to avoid applying for out-work benefits, even sacrificing their own savings rather than taking social benefits (Schweyher et al. 2019). Such experiences could be further

[42]Based on the previous subchapter, some migrants staying for a short period of time in the UK (seasonal) seemed to think about the other migrants, who were longer than a year, as the permanently settled in the UK. Therefore, they had the same rationale to justify the rights to access social security system i.e. settlement, work, and children.

enhanced in relation to the Brexit referendum. Secondly, the family- and children- related benefits seemed not to be considered as a part of social benefits. They thought about the child benefits as related to the work or the paid tax, so they did not link the social membership experiences with protection from poverty or dependence on a social protection system (Osipovič 2015). Currently, such perception of Child Benefits might be threefold: unfamiliarity with the UK social system, the lack of awareness that Child Benefit is a mean-tested benefit, or perception associated with the Polish child benefit (500+), which has been granted for all Polish citizens, whose children live in Poland. Analysing the social membership experiences brought again the need of an inclusion of intersectional approach (Anthias 2012, p.107), which might shed light on the need for the participants distancing from lower class categories linked with poverty.

5.5.3 Health care nationalism

The participants gave the impression that they did not want to show their dependence and need of social membership when discussing health-related issues. They rather attempted to show their contribution-based deservedness and rights to claim benefits. Generally, it could be said that the participants possessed more options to use health care system than non-migrants (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.217). They could choose where they lived, and therefore they could also have chosen where they wanted to access the health care system. They had transnational rights (Vertovec 2001, p.574-575). The participants seemed to have preferences to access the health care system (NFZ) in Poland, because they did not trust the NHS treatments (see Chapter 7) (Cook et al. 2012, p.339). As migrants, they had this transnational possibility to choose to travel to Poland to have a specific medical procedure. The most commonly accessed medical service in Poland was the dental care service (all 20 participants mentioned it).

> *I had never been to a dentist in the UK. I do not trust them. Every time, when we visited Poland we went to the dentist. My husband made a joke that we did MOT for our teeth. We had the same dentist in Poland. We always booked 3-4 appointments in advance when we went for Christmas. And... when the child was younger, we went to a paediatrician in Poland. Just in case and to make sure that everything was all right. There were some health check for children, which are routine in Poland, but were not routine in the UK. And, we also had vaccinations in Poland for our child. We did everything privately.* (Aneta 1R:17,20)

The participants' approach could be called health care nationalism. The preferences to choose NFZ could be related to the participants' available financial resources (cf. Chap-

ter 6) (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983, Collins 2017, Cresswell 2010, Anthias 2012, p.106). However, the participants without financial resources did not have full freedom to choose, where they live or which health care system they preferred to use (see Chapter 3) (Cook et al. 2012, p.339-340). For example, Darek had financial resources to travel often to Poland, therefore he could also choose either the NHS or the private health care system in Poland. Interestingly, Darek selectively chose where he accessed the health care system. His decisions were made based on his preferences, trust, and financial possibilities. Darek expressed that he did not trust British medical doctors, therefore he made a decision to access his medical doctor and dentist in Poland when he visited Poland. He thought about his GP in the UK as a backup option, in case of an emergency (Cook et al. 2012, p.339). However, Darek used the NHS when he needed a prescription for some medicines, because medicines were cheaper in the UK than in Poland. In Darek's opinion, it was not easy to convince his GP in the UK to prescribe him a specific medicine, so Darek developed a coping strategy to access medicines, which he wanted (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.217) (see Chapter 6). The choices made by some of the participants strategised their membership, even if their attachment and identification were strongly associated with Poland. The available opportunities were truly transnational, and the migrants could decide which option they preferred (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.217). Their experiences of belonging to Poland and emotional distancing themselves from the UK did not change their willingness to find the best possible (or affordable) alternative for themselves. Their choices were made based on a utilitarian approach (see Chapter 7 which describes similar approach but for the participants with different temporal and spatial outlook).

The availability of financial resources was an important dimension for the participants to be able to choose between potential options, but this was not the only factor, which could affect decisions on health care treatment. The migrants' familiarity of the health care system and available treatments led to the increasing trust for the health care system in Poland. Therefore, their income was a less significant dimension influencing their choice about, which health care system they preferred. Klara was not sure about quality of treatment in the UK for her son, so she decided to access the private health care system in Poland, and paid, in her opinion a lot of money, to ensure that her son would get a high quality treatment.

> *Our son had surgery in Poland. The fact is that it was very expensive. We were not insured in Poland, the surgery cost 10 thousand PLN [2,000GBP], but we could not cut back money on our son's health.* (Klara 6R:29)

When we visited Poland, we accessed the health care system to check our health condition. Even when I was pregnant, in first, second and third pregnancy, we came to Poland, from time to time, to check our health, and to be sure that everything was fine. (Klara 6R:30)

Finally, health care nationalism could be considered as a cluster of the belonging experiences, which might be consistent with the participants' identification, and attachments, but still be part of the process of negotiation and problematisation of migration process over time.

5.5.4 Portability of the UK pension to Poland

The last dimension of social membership, for the participants' temporary living in the UK, was pension. In general, the participants, who were longer in the UK, anticipated to receive a British pension in future. They might be eligible if they fulfilled the requirements (Marangozov et al. 2013, p.6), in which one of the criteria was length of stay in the UK (Erdal & Oeppen 2013, p.868-869). They seemed to consider the British pension to be more valuable, so they wanted to transfer their pension from the UK to Poland, because of their temporal orientation of migration. They thought that they would have significantly more money if they received, at least, the basic pension from the UK, because the value of British pound was higher than that of Polish złoty. Roberta was an interesting example among the participants, because she was close to retirement age, and she had already worked more than 10 years in the UK, so she could be eligible to receive a pension and transfer it to Poland. However, she seemed to misunderstand some of the pension portability rules applicable to the migrants in the EU. She said:

I suspect that it is estimated somehow, because we are still in the EU. The EU law said that all working years are counted together for my pension. I paid contributions to my pension here, and I pay health insurance, so I think that it counts. And this will increase my state pension! I do not know the amount of money which I will receive, but the amount of pension will be increased because the pound is worth more than Polish złoty.

(Roberta 27:24)

The perception of the pound sterling as a currency worth more than Polish złoty had significant impact on thinking about future retirement. The possibility of getting access to the state pension from the UK seemed to make them feel secure about retirement, which was important for their belonging experiences (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). The money

from the UK appeared as a safer option because the value of pound sterling had been always higher than the value of Polish currency. Thus, considering the differences in the cost of living between the UK and Poland, retirement in Poland became a more reasonable (and possibly the only viable) option for those migrants. The participants appeared to present a utilitarian motivation to claim the UK pension, similarly as in other dimensions of social security rights. While, their experiences of belonging seemed to show them less likely to think about claiming benefits, this was not seen when thinking about the pension. It was also clear that they did not show social tourism in their motivation of migration (Kvist 2004, p.305). The UK pension could be considered as a strong need of feeling secure (also financial security) for the future (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017, Eade et al. 2006, p.31). Thus, the participants might not change their experiences of belonging, even if they claimed a UK pension, because they would port the pension to Poland. It would be consistent with the participants' need for coherence in the experiences of belonging in the dimensions of identification, attachment, and membership, but also constantly negotiated leading to complex experiences.

5.6 The overlapping dimensions and coherence of belonging

The experiences of belonging expressed by the participants in this group appeared in all three dimensions: identification, attachment, and membership. The dimensions did not exist separately, but they overlapped (see Chapter 2). The process of identification was affected by attachment, for example, by identifying where the participants might feel secure and where their home was (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017, Eade et al. 2006, p.31). What is more, the identification process overlapped with the experiences of membership. The identification of the parent participants with Poland and willingness to return to their country of origin could cause worries about formal citizenship, which their children might have. They were more in favour that their children have Polish citizenship rather than British. Again, such an approach seemed to produce coherence in the parents' experiences of children's identity.

> *At the beginning, we worried that a child who was born in the UK may be eligible to be a [British] citizen. (...) If both parents are Polish, then the child is not a [British] citizen, the child's place of birth is England, and that's all.* (Klara 6R:52)

Interestingly, according to the existing regulations, a child of migrants born in the UK could receive British citizenship if the parents resided for at least 5 years in the UK.

In case of Klara, the youngest child received a British passport, because the parents fulfilled the formal requirements, but this did not change the parents' approach to the child's identity. It appeared that the passport was understood by the parents as *a piece of paper* without any implication for the child's identity. The migrants identified themselves with their country of origin, which automatically resulted in their children' belonging to Poland. The participants were searching for consistency for their and their children's identities (cf. Chapter 6). Moreover, the participants, who assumed temporary stay in the UK, looked for coherence in other migrants' behaviour and attitudes. Such a coherence was expected in what the Polish migrants expressed and what they did. Patryk's example showed that the participants might want the consistency where they belong (attachment), who they are (identification), and their formal membership (citizenship). Patryk seemed to have ambivalent feelings towards his friends, who had two citizenships[43]. It gave the impression that Polishness (emotional attachment) should be consistent with identity and membership, which here was expressed as citizenship.

> *Only Poland. I feel that I am 200% Polish when I am in England. Migration has not changed me. I am Polish. My home is in Poland. Friends of mine applied for a citizenship [British] and they show it [to me], and I asked them why do you show it? I am Polish. What does it matter if you have the citizenship, you have a passport... but they often talked to me that Polish meat and ham are better in Polish shop. So if you have the citizenship [British] then why you go to Polish shop and buy Polish food?*
>
> (Patryk 30:54)

Possession of double citizenship seemed to disturb some of the participants' coherence in the identification experiences (cf. Bhabha 1994). None of the participants, who were analysed in this group, seemed to consider applying for British citizenship. They gave the impression that they looked for coherence in their lives, especially when they lived abroad. Some of them did not bother about formalities, so they did not think of applying for a new citizenship. Alternatively, some of the participants did not apply for a second citizenship because they wanted a consistent identity with their citizenship and attachment. Finally, the citizenship might be a needless cost for the migrants, who were in the UK temporarily.

Figure 5-1: The visual representation of the most important aspects of the group presented in this chapter i.e. temporary migration with a clearly defined plan to return to Poland, where participants had home before migration, and where their families live.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed and discussed, how the participants expressed identification, attachment, and social membership as their migration experiences. I presented how their experiences were formed in a coherent narrative oriented to individual, collective, and institutional level, and how they were shaped by expectation of temporal stay and motivation of migration.

The participants signalled a coherence among all three dimensions of belonging, but their actual experiences were not the same. The similarities were seen among the participants in the identification dimension, primarily the participants in their transnational experiences were in-between (Poland and the UK) but still highlighted their strong Polish identification. They seemed to feel safe and secure with the idea of Polish identification, because they planned to return to Poland, so they created coherent perspective about themselves and their lives. By keeping the idea of return alive (White 2011*a*), they rather maintained their Polish identification, which, in some cases, became even stronger in their narration than before migration. The participants representing Polish identity appeared to become more confident of their identification with Poland, which could be related to their cherished myth of return (White 2014*b*). Interestingly, the participants, who had children (8 examples), defined their children's identification similarly as their own. However, the literature suggest that the migrants' children, who were recognised also as Polish by their parents, did not necessarily identify themselves

[43] Polish and the UK allow their citizens to have double citizenship.

with Polish identify. The children's identification could divert from the parents' identification because identification is not a fixed experience repeated from generation to generation (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*). What is more, the identification and belonging might be problematised and change over time (Clothier 2005). The participants' identification was seen to be more challenging for the participants who became returnees, because they faced the new reality in Poland, different to the reality they left. They also realised that the migration actually might have impact on them and their belonging experiences. This could develop new experiences of identification for the participants, who might have a hybrid identification (Bhabha 1994) originating from their experiences of transnational lives and being in-between (Poland and the UK).

At collective levels, there was the attachment dimension, which appeared to be coherent with the participants' identification experiences. The participants exhibited strong anchoring and embedding characteristics in this dimension. The participants identified Polish anchors in their lives such as Polish traditions, food, TV, and church service. The participants kept strong social networks mainly in Poland, which were their anchors to Poland forging possibilities of feeling secure as an important factor for their identification and attachment. Both decisions, staying and returning, had an impact on their attachment, and therefore on social ties, which they tried to keep in Poland. However, the social embedding experiences by the participants appeared to be gradual and shaping of social networks. It seemed to be easier to prioritise participants' social ties with family, while relations with friends might loosen over time because of lack of regular face to face meetings when the participants visited Poland (Koelet et al. 2017, Ryan et al. 2015). Staying longer in the UK could help to create more and stronger social networks and to become embedded in the UK, however it did not necessarily happen to all participants' experiences in this group. The participants wanted to have coherent and unproblematic experiences of attachment and belonging. The experiences of migration impacted the participants, their orientation on Poland might be still their assumption, but in practice, the participants (returnees) frequently experienced distress and disappointment after return. They discovered that their transnational belonging changed over time.

The membership experiences were part of the participants' thinking and experiences of belonging at an institutional level. The citizenship status was part of their self-identification (Paine 1993, p.225-227);(Golden 2002, p.20) and signalled clarity among different elements comprising their belonging experiences. The participants considered citizenship on national level, even if they exercised their transnational rights. However, it become more challenging when the participants exercised their social membership,

the social benefits were stigmatised for the participants by public discourse. For the participants staying longer in the UK, some benefits were important part of their family budget.

There were some differences between the participants in this group based on their financial situation, which could be considered also in relation to class differences by including an intersectional approach (Runyan 2018). The intersectional cross-cut categories were easier to identify in comparison to all the participants in different groups (see Chapter 8). There was coherence in the participants' experiences of social benefits, the participants with children claimed child benefits. Some participants claimed child benefits transnationally on behalf of children, who resided in Poland, while the other participants use their rights to get child benefits for children living in the UK. The transnational rights were exercised by all the participants with regard to the health care service in Poland. They presented strong health care nationalism, which seemed to be based on familiarity with the Polish health care system, but also related to feeling more secure, or paying less if financial resources possessed by the participants mattered. Finally, the participants wanted to return and retire in Poland in the future, and so they wanted to take *with them* their UK pension, and transfer it to Poland. This can be considered transnational practise, as after ten years, based on contributions made to the British pension scheme, they would be eligible to get British pension paid to Poland.

That identification, attachment, and membership had a specific form or characteristics for these participants. For these participants, the importance of temporality was seen in their migration approach, their experiences of belonging in all three dimensions showed the repeatedly returning idea of temporary stay in the country of destination. Returning was not necessarily a fixed plan, but it was an idea which seemed to be important for the participants and might be an element of their identification, attachment, and membership experiences. It might help them to feel more secure and confident that they had a secure place, where they could return, if they failed in their migration.

The participants' experiences could be shaped by intersectional categories, but the clusters of categories were not strongly visible. The participants were diverse in terms of educational background and employment status in Poland. The participants highlighted their motivation of migration based on life course improvement. What is more, some of the participants experienced a de-skilling process, which also showed class category cross-cutting the participants' experiences of belonging.

The distinctiveness of those experiences and their coherence needs examining in a rela-

tion to the other participants with different approach to their migration seen as settlement. For settlement, we turn to the next Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

Planning to stay

I am planning to stay here, not to return. I do not have anything in Poland that could keep me there. I have family here [in the UK]. I have a job here. (Lech 17:48)

I think of this country as my country. It is mostly my children's country then mine. I pay taxes and I expect that I will have rights to use the state's support if I need it. (Urszula 32:55)

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the clusters of closely resembling experiences shared by the participants, who planned to stay in the UK. The commonalities among the participants in this group such as their motivation, planned permanent stay in the UK, and transnational practices, were identified. Those commonalities appear to be shaped by social characteristics, especially gender and class, but there were not, by any means, determined by them. The long-term orientation of migration project was significantly important in framing their identification, attachment, and membership, and constructing belonging experiences at three levels: individual, collective, and institutional.

This chapter discusses the common experiences and practices of twenty one (21) participants. The socio-demographic characteristics of this group were as follows: there were six (6) male and fifteen (15) female participants. The age of the participants is ranging from 27 to 67 with a mean in mid-thirties. The family status of the participants was diverse: single, married, divorcee, and widow; 18 of the participants had children (a number of children ranged between 1 to 3 children), and four participants had grandchildren. The children of the participants varied in age from 7 months to 44 years old.

The participants in this group are Polish migrants, who are mainly one-time migrants (17), and four (4) double returnees. The length of stay in this group is ranging from 4 to 15 years. The double returnees had been staying in the UK between one month to more than a year during their first migration, after which they had returned to Poland, and then returned back to the UK. The participants' employment statuses is also diverse: 3 are unemployed, 14 employed (low skilled 7, skilled 6, administrative 2), and 3 retired. Nine of the participants has a university degree, 4 of them has professional technical education, and the remaining 8 has vocational education.

In the first section of the chapter, I present the participants' motivations and willingness to settle in the UK. The wish to have a decent quality of life in the UK was identified as the main push factor to migrate and to plan their migration in the context of permanent stay in the UK. In the second part of the chapter, I show that some participants, who intended to settle, identified themselves as Polish, however they seemed to not verbalise their wish to identify with Britishness. The participants usually considered their children as more British than Polish. Thirdly, I identify some patterns, which show how the permanently settled participants highlighted their need to create home in the UK. They felt secure in the country of destination, therefore they wanted to belong to the new society. Additionally, I present how some of the participants exercised their social membership, and how they justified their rights based on their children's British identification. The participants wanted to construct their social membership but, in their opinion, the social membership was based on several criteria, which were some-how hand-crafted by migrants, such as deservedness of the migrants by their settlement status, paying taxes, and actually having children born in the UK. The participants' experience of belonging and the community membership seemed to be ambivalent, as part of a broader subordination experience. They appreciated all social benefits received from the state, and by this, manifested both subordination to the state, and awareness that equally treated as locals (in identity and rights). Finally, I discuss the relation between dimensions of belonging experienced by the participants. The long-term perspective of residence impacted the migrants' identification. Their identification, attachment, and membership were complex, they wished to also be considered British thus they sought to apply for British citizenship.

6.2 Motivation of migration and long-term plan to settle in the UK

The participants, who had been planning to settle in the UK, included those defining the length of their migration in the UK as permanent before they had migrated, just after arrival to the UK, or after double return (White 2014*b*, p.82). The different reasons for migration were identified during the interviews including involuntary migration, obligation to support family in the UK, searching for job opportunities, and longing to have a good quality of life in the UK (King 2002, Perista 2014, p.155);(Koelet et al. 2017, p.442). The participants in this group explained their motivation for migration differently, there were the participants, who highlighted that their need of employment had pushed them to migrate, the participants, who looked to improve their living condition or seek better opportunities in the UK, or the participants who migrated because they had familial obligations to take care of grandchildren. The participants seemed to accept the fact they live in the UK and not their homeland, however, the positive experiences of being in the UK were mixed and depended on the circumstantial reasons for migration.

6.2.1 *Involuntary* migration

The participants, whose motivation for migration were financial concerns in Poland, expressed the wish to be settled permanently in the UK based on their precarious employment situation in their country of origin. The participants called their migration *involuntary*, they perceived that they could not live in their country of origin, and therefore, they felt to be forced to migrate. Due to their poor financial situations in their country of origin, they emphasised their reluctance to return there, and some-how a *conviction* to settle down in the UK. These similarities in motivation and even classed outlook between participants (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) suggest that the orientation of the migration project was an important factor in shaping sense of belonging. As an example, Cecylia[44] migrated to the UK with her husband because they had not been able to earn enough to have a minimum acceptable living standard. While she never mentioned their poor living conditions in Poland, she gave an example of her sister-in-law to describe the distressing living conditions that pushed them to migrate.

[44]Cecylia was a 30 year old married woman with one child (3 years old). She was expecting a second child. She was in the UK for 4 years.

Poles do not stay in Poland. There are not good life conditions, everyone is trying to figure out how to live in Poland. My sister-in-law works in the supermarket 'Biedronka'[45]*. My brother is always away on business trips. He comes back home only on Friday night, when his child is already sleeping. She [sister-in-law] works in 'Biedronka', this is hard work. She has only a 15 minute break, but during these 15 minutes, she has to check the cash register and take the money to a locker room. Only after all that she can go for a break, so she has, at the most, 5 minutes to eat her sandwich, because she has to return to the workplace during her break time... They still live with my grandmother, whose pension is not high. They live with the grandmother, so they have only one room for them and for their child. But they need grandmother's pension to be able to survive. My brother is always on business trips, it does not make any sense to have a life like that. They do not see each other.* (Cecylia 11:33)

The participants' and their families' poor living conditions in Poland appeared to be one of the most common motivations to migrate and to settle permanently in the UK. The situation, the participants experienced in Poland, was intolerable for them in the long-term, and so they wanted to improve their living conditions. The participants seemed to seek a new way of life, they neither wanted to manage temporary issues (e.g. pay back debts as in Chapter 5), nor were oriented to improve their living conditions when they return (e.g. buy or build a property in Poland, see Chapter 5). Given that it seemed to be impossible for them to improve their life in Poland, they focused on establishing and consolidating their life in the UK. Cezary[46] said:

I was forced [to migrate]. I wanted to improve living conditions for my daughter. My daughter was 2 years old, and we had been married for 2 years. (Cezary 03:03)

The participants, who settled permanently in the UK, were frequently labelled as *escapees*. The escapees-migrants could be characterised as the migrants, who moved to the UK not only because of the lack of decent living conditions, but primarily due to difficulties with unpaid debts and serious work issues. The opportunity to migrate appeared as their last chance to start a new life far away from past problems. This label was used by the participants, who also seemed to be in challenging situations during

[45]It is a name of the food discount shop in Poland.

[46]Cezary was a 35 years old, male, married (currently informally separated), and had one child (6 years old). He was in the UK for 8 years.

their process of migration. Edward[47] was a homeless participant, and said:

> *They [Polish migrants] run away from Poland, because they had had problems in Poland. I do not want to spend time with those migrants... I know one Polish migrant here [in the UK], and she said that six Poles were deported, because they [Poles] cheated in Poland... and it was discovered that they were here [in the UK], and they received a 'one-way ticket'. They were deported. If you are deported, then you cannot return for five years [pause]. I also heard that it has recently been changed and they may not be able to return at all* (Edward 05:39)

6.2.2 Social networks and emotional obligation to migrate

Among the participants in this group were Polish grandmothers, who emphasised their emotional need to migrate. They often were called *flying grandmothers* because of their travels to the UK to take care of their grandchildren (Zontini 2004, Nesteruk & Marks 2009, Ryan et al. 2009, p.71). They were another group of migrants considering permanent settlement in the UK. However, it is worth noting that the concept of flying grandmothers appeared as more settled experience in the collected interviews. *More settled* can be understood that the flying grandmothers were not mobile migrants (not flying back and forth). They came and settled in the UK to take care of grandchildren, whereas visiting Poland from time to time. The flying grandmothers experienced a voluntary migration, but they stressed that they were focused on their families' needs. Without a commitment to take care of their grandchildren, they did not have any other traceable reason to migrate to the UK (cf. Chapter 5). The grandmothers appeared to have a strong orientation towards their responsibilities for their families, which was seen in their decision-to-migrate process. For example, they were able to give up their stable, often comfortable, and socially fulfilling lives in Poland, and moved to the UK, just because, they felt that their presence in the UK was needed by their families. An example of a flying grandmother was Bogumiła,[48] who highlighted that she was strongly focused on her family obligations.

[47] Edward was 42 years old, single male. He was for 12 years in the UK. When he was interviewed he was homeless.

[48] Bogumila was 67 years old, grandmother of two. She retired in Poland. She was for 3 years in the UK.

> *I worked at the accountant office. I worked there for many years. But I saw that they [my family] needed my help. I had to decide. I would not say that it was an easy decision. I decided to retire. I have my pension, which is enough to live in Poland. But I saw that my children needed help. I do not know when I die, so I use my time to spend with grandchildren, and I will help them at the same time. I settled here [in the UK].* (Bogumiła 38:02)

It is worth noting that the grandmothers mostly attributed their families as the reason for their settlement in the UK. Their emotional attachment to their families seemed to be strong anchor for them to dedicate their life to their families and grandchildren (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). Their social networks seemed to be strong in the UK where their family was (Boyd 1989, p.651); (White & Ryan 2008, p.1468); (Ryan et al. 2009, p.63). The participants showed also that their settlement could be related to their emotional need of not living alone in Poland. Although the participants' families needed the help from the flying grandmothers, the grandmothers also showed their willingness to live in the UK as a way to avoid loneliness in Poland. This was clearly seen for the grandmothers, who were widows, and those already retired. Thus, the migration could be a bilateral need, family members could also take care of ageing parents in the UK, and so the settlement in the UK was a bilateral solution for all family obligations (Ryan et al. 2009, p.74); (Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, p.209); (Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1213).

> *The main reason of my stay [in the UK] is family. It is easy to go somewhere. It is important to help family, otherwise, I would be alone at home [in Poland]. My husband died, my son has his own family. I do not know what to do alone at home [in Poland]. I would walk from one window to another. Here I can help.* (Bogumiła 38:28)

The grandmothers wished to be helpful, they felt important through productive means when they took care of their grandchildren in the UK. In return, they had companionship since they were not alone as they used to be in the country of origin.

6.2.3 Better life quality in the UK

The one-time migrants or double returnees included in this group, who wanted to stay permanently in the UK, emphasised a higher quality of life in the UK (White 2014*a*, p.82). In general, the participants seemed to indicate that the better life in the UK was linked to employment. However, they had different explanations for what was important in terms of employment and why it gave them the impression that they had a better quality of life in the UK.

Firstly, the participants, with plans to stay permanently in the UK, appreciated the opportunity to have a work-life balance. Their wages were sufficient to maintain their families. The migrants perceived their permanent stay in the UK as providing a financially stable and secure life (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). The balance between finances, employment, and family, was particularly important for the participants to plan their future settlement in the UK. For example, Urszula[49] repeated several times during the interview that she had a flexible schedule at work, resulting in better work-life balance. This example shows that the plan to settle permanently was focused on employment, which would allow a combination of work and family life.

> *I know that I have a job here. I have the job, which I can adjust to my needs. I can start and finish my work when I need. It is comfortable. I am not sure if I could find such a job in Poland to earn a similar amount of money, and still be able to return home at a normal time. I think that I am used to living here. I am not sure I could live in Poland.* (Urszula 32:26)

The participants' experiences of belonging in the migration process appeared to be created in intersectional categories (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, p.2-3); (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.20-21); (Anderson 2013). Additionally, professional position seemed to be important in shaping belonging for some of the participants, who felt they possessed a decent life in the UK and did not experience a deskilling process (e.g. Franciszka, Urszula, Sara). Occupational prestige appeared to increase their sense of belonging as their motivation for migration was to find a new way of life, and they seemed to find it.

Secondly, some of the low skilled participants frequently faced precarious working conditions in the UK, meaning their jobs were poorly-paid (at the level of national minimum wage or even below), insecure and unprotected i.e. employed through agencies for short-term jobs, having zero-hour contracts, or even in some cases employed illegally, which gave them experiences of insecurity and uncertainty (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Such poor working conditions also extended to dangerous working conditions, where the health and safety standards often did not meet the legal requirements in the UK. However, the participants still seemed to see their life abroad as more profitable than in Poland, because, at least they had a job, and so they agreed to work in such poor working conditions. The lower class category seemed to have an impact on some of the participants' approaches to their living and working conditions, they might not be able to fight for their rights (Anthias 2012, p.106). They were not knowledgeable about their employee rights, and thus they did not know how to exercise their rights.

[49] Urszula was 29 years old, married woman and had had 2 children (2 and 5 years old), she stayed for 14 years in the UK.

> *It is hard work. Working conditions are also terrible. If I have to be honest, this is exploitation. People are scared to talk to the manufacturers. They work as slaves. I'm talking about jobs that are paid at minimum wage. Everything is controlled and monitored. I experienced it and I saw it. These are contemporary slavery camps. Of course, people agree to work in such conditions.* (Cezary 03:100,119)

Additionally, the participants who intended to settle in the UK, were focused on employment opportunities in the UK. When they experienced difficulties in the labour market, they gave the impression that they were determined to survive and find a way to be able to live in the UK at any cost. While they tried to find regular employment, they also used alternative ways to earn extra money. Such informal (and often unclaimed income) was then contradictory to their need of fulfilling formalities to be able to settle permanently in the UK. One of the possibilities to earn extra money was to sell alcohol and cigarettes, which were brought from Poland when they visited the country of origin (see Figure H6). In terms of unofficial income, interestingly only male participants (3) mentioned these opportunities, the female participants did not consider it as a way to secure their income (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017), it brought more gender categories in the *grey market*[50] consideration of earning opportunities in the UK.

The potentially easier access to employment opportunities in the UK created an atmosphere of employment stability for the participants (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). This is despite the fact that the majority of jobs offered to the low skilled participants (10 participants), and to the migrants experiencing a deskilling process, were uncertain resulting in little or no control over working hours or conditions. Such jobs, however, provided a sufficient financial continuity to allow for a reasonable standard of living, leading to an imaginary experience of life stability (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017) so they could think of their future (Eade et al. 2006, p.31). For example, Lech[51] showed his disappointment of his working conditions in Poland. He was afraid he could not pay for all his utilities each month.

[50] Illegal employment

[51] Lech was a 54 years old, male, married and had two adult children and one teenager. He was a double migrant. He migrated to the UK first time for 1 year and then returned to Poland. 2 years later, he migrated again and he was in the UK 11 years.

I would return to Poland. If I have a chance, I will return to Poland... if I know that I will have a good life in Poland I will return, no questions. I would return to Poland (...) but employers have still not paid me back all my money. Here [in the UK] I know that I receive my salary on the 28th of each month. I do not worry about anything as I used to do in Poland. I do not have to worry if I have enough money to pay all the utilities. I used to have not enough money to pay utilities, and then the next month I had to pay utilities for two months. (Lech 17:65,84)

Nevertheless, the employment situation was even more difficult for the low-skilled employees in their country of origin, for example, even if they had jobs, they still might not be able to ensure decent living conditions for themselves and their families. The minimal wages in Poland were often not enough to cover all living expenses, especially in larger cities. Furthermore, some of the participants (4) pointed out that they experienced difficulties in receiving their salary regularly, because employers often cheated and did not pay their employees on time. This led to an increase in uncertainty of their financial situation when they were living in their country of origin (Ryan et al. 2009, p.70). Based on this, some of the participants declared that their financial situation was better in the UK.

6.3 Identification with Poland and in-depth wish to be British – individual level

For the participants, who planned to settle in the UK permanently, their identification was related to their feeling of responsibility towards their country of origin, of which they appeared to have an idealistic and romantic vision, including what they remembered from Polish history. This national pride did not change their reality, and they did not believe in the possibility of living in Poland, because they were unsure that their basic needs would be met.

We do not live in our country [Poland] currently because of practical issues, but it is our country. Our roots are there, and so based on that, we should try to show that we behave well, and we should present good attitudes also about our country. (Cecylia 11:117)

Moreover, some of the participants (2) publicly displayed their Polish pride by cheering for the Polish football team. For example, Helena[52] was proud of her Polish identity,

[52]Helena was 38 years old divorcee women and had two children (13 and 2 years old). She moved to the UK and settled for 10 years.

and she wanted to show her Polish identity in public. One of the ways to display her identity was her presence at the local pub in a place where she lived in the UK during time the international football matches were shown. When the Polish team played, she publicly cheered for them. On the one hand, the participants highlighted their identification with Poland and responsibility to be good representatives of their homeland abroad. They also idealised Poland, they wanted to show that their nation should be fairly judged by the British.

> *It is not my merit that I am Polish, but I am aware of rich Polish history. I feel my national identity and national belonging. I am proud of being Polish. (...) Poles should behave properly after all there are stereotypes about all Poles.* (Karol 11:91)

On the other hand, the participants included in this group with long-term settlement plans, described themselves as not being only Polish. Cecylia emphasised that she was Polish but she added an extra dimension to her identification process. The migration process might have impacted and changed the participants' experiences of identification.

> *I am Polish who lives in the UK [laugh].* (Cecylia 11:78)

The migration might have had an impact on the participants' individual experiences of identification; their wistful relationship with Poland might have increased or impacted the overall identification process (Hall & Du Gay 1996, p.3). The participants were aware that they had settled in a country that was not their homeland. Because they wanted to live permanently in the UK, they often highlighted the division between the British and the migrants. There was a differentiation that could show the division between *us* and *them* (Anderson 2013). The participants openly said that they were Polish, but regardless of their Polish identity and their Polish roots, they wanted to live in and be identified with the UK (18 participants mentioned that they felt they were recognised as foreigners in different circumstances), only grandmothers did not feel this need to be identified as not foreign. It was even more evident when the participants experienced being recognised as not British, and in how the parents characterised their children's identification (see below).

6.3.0.1 Experience of not being British

The participants discussed in this chapter experienced obstacles in living and identifying with the country of destination, which appeared to be important to their experience of belonging. The length of the actual stay did not seem to be the factor, which affected their views of identification and belonging. The participants in this group were double

returnees, and migrants who spent at least 4 years in the UK. Initially, the participants were seen as foreigners, despite the fact that they possessed language capacity (10 participants seemed to speak at least communicative English). Their accent helped to demarcate them as inherently non-British born (Ryan et al. 2009, p.74-75); (Ryan 2010, p.368) leading to the participants feeling like outsiders among British-born citizens (Anderson 2006).

> *People hear [in my voice] that I am not from here. It kills me.*
>
> (Celina 39:18)

> *I feel that I belong here, but when I hear the question from my friend 'how long have you been here [in the UK]', I feel that they ask me 'what are you doing here'*
>
> (Celina 39:18)

> *I feel that my home is here, but then I meet people who say that I am a foreigner, or I say 'hi', and they ask me 'where are you from'.*
>
> (Celina 39:14)

Furthermore, some of the participants did not feel comfortable outside their homes, because they felt that other people observed them. By speaking Polish, the participants seemed to stand out from the locals. Besides, the participants' will to fit into British society became difficult, when they did not have the language capacity (11 participants had difficulties in communicating in English) (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.18-21). It did not matter how long they spent in the UK (cf. Martinovic et al. 2009, Martinović 2013), they experienced barriers in daily life in the UK regardless. For example, they were not able to open a bank account by themselves. The lack of language capacity causes the distance between Poles and other non-Polish speakers in the UK (Wessendorf 2015, p.16-17). Thus, it was challenging for the participants to build a community of values with locals in the UK (Anderson 2013). However, it did not change their will to settle permanently in the UK, and they continued to become part of the society.

> *I am a person who lives here, and that means for me that I am in the place for 100%. When I live here, I am responsible to co-exist with people in my neighbourhood. It is great. It would be easier to integrate with English people if my English was better. I do not feel well with my lack of language capacity, but I think [hope] that my English friends have a good opinion of me.*
>
> (Olga 25:57-58)

6.3.1 Children's Britishness

The participants, who highlighted their settlement in the UK, identified with Poland, but planned to live in the UK. What is more, they dreamed of becoming British citizens, but they did not say so openly; they seemed to verbalise this wish of being British by identifying their children as part of the British community. For the parents, their children were more British than Polish, because it was linked with their place of birth, identification, emotional attachment, and living in British society (cf. Rodríguez & Egea 2006, Levrau et al. 2014, Brannen 2011, p.163-166).

> *My children... both are British citizens. They have British passports; they were born in the UK. I also think that they have... the English way of thinking. The children will grow up in the [British] society. They are half Polish, but they will be 100% British.* (Franciszka[53] 15:86-87)

Besides, the participants with dependent children (15 participants) seemed to assume that their children would never live in Poland. Some of them wanted to help their children to be naturally seen as British (Anderson 2013) by not giving them Polish names.

> *My children have British names: Catherine and Laura, because we wanted to make their life easier. We know that they will stay in the UK, so we did not want to name them Katarzyna, Małgorzata, which will be difficult to pronounce for English people. It will be easier for them. (...) I know that Poles give very Polish names: Wojciech, Tadeusz... it is ok, but in Poland. Why do they name like that... Maybe they plan to return to Poland. We know that we will not return.* (Franciszka 15:88)

The participants, who were parents, emphasised their need to belong to the society in which they wanted to live. They experienced challenges in their own identification and being identified as British. Thus, there was tension between what they longed for, and what they faced in their daily life experiences of the migration process. Some of the parents, included in this group with dependent children, affirmed their sense of belonging based on their British children. It appeared that it gave them at least a glimpse of British identification and belonging.

6.3.1.1 Being British as a chance for children's future

The participants, who were parents of dependent children, presented also the motivation for migration and permanent plan of settlement in the UK, which was related to their

feelings of better opportunities for their children in the UK. It shaped their approach to their children's identification process. They wanted a better future for their children, which for them meant that they should stay and live in the UK. They perceived the advantages for their children growing up in the UK. They underlined two main advantages as follows. Firstly, the children would be multilingual speakers (it is a commonly desired skill to be multilingual in Poland, as people with language skills may have better work opportunities), which also could bring the transnational perspective on children's identification and belonging (Schiller et al. 1992*a*, p.11); (Vertovec 1999, p.450). The children's identification could also be considered as in-between, which goes beyond binary identification (Rutherford 1990, Bhabha 1996, Meredith 1998, p.2); (Clothier 2005, p.45). Secondly, the children could have stronger identification to the UK than their parents, so the children might not be seen as migrants but as locals (Anderson 2006). It is worth noting that the participants, who did not speak English, seemed to emphasise the Britishness (e.g. speaking English) of their children more as an opportunity for them and less the process of identification (cf. Hunt et al. 2008, p.33).

> *You can understand and you are understood everywhere in Poland. Here, it depends how well you speak English. I do not have language capacity. (...) It will be great also for her [daughter] to speak English fluently. (...) it would be a huge advantage for her. She would be a native English and Polish speaker. She could finish English education. (...) but I do not think only about myself, I think about the child. It looks like she would have an easier life [in the UK]. (...) I hope she would not have to work as a cleaner here.* (Teresa 29:32)

The parents wanted their children to learn Polish because they needed to communicate with family (both in the UK and also in Poland e.g. with grandparents) (Koelet et al. 2017, p.445). The children learned English naturally at school whereas learning Polish at home or by attending Polish Saturday School (Rodríguez & Egea 2006, Brannen 2011, p.163-166); (Levrau et al. 2014). Knowing two languages could be seen as an advantage for their children in future. They could be translators or use their language skills to find better employment, because language skills were highly valued by potential employees, in the parents' opinion. The parents in this group underlined an advantage of knowing two languages, but according to them it was more important for the children's future to learn English. Some parents had their own experience of the difficulties learning a language abroad (Wessendorf 2015, p.16-17), and so they highlighted how important it was for them and for their children to be fluent in English. Being fluent in Polish was important too due to the significance of social networks for children. The children could

communicate with non-English speaking parents, and also to keep their social networks with grandparents and family members in Poland (Ryan 2018*a*, p.245).

Furthermore, the parents dreamed of a better future for their children. Zofia very strongly highlighted the potential of disappointment for her son later in life, if she chose not to stay in the UK.

> *I think that it would be difficult and shameful if he [her son] is British, and he would live in Poland, and then he as an adult returns to the UK and starts his careers as a cleaner. It would be shame for him. I do not think about current difficulties. I think about the future. He would blame me that I returned [to Poland]. I think about the future and what would the best for him.* (Zofia 36:32)

The participants who might have had precarious employment in the past, underlined that they hoped their children would have a better starting position by living in the UK and not having to go through the parents' tough life experiences.

6.4 Local attachments – collective level

6.4.1 Looking for home in the UK

The participants, included in this group with plans to settle in the UK, appeared not to be highly mobile migrants, they preferred to settle in one place. They seemed to look for a place, which they could call home. Home was the place, where they could feel safe (Ignatieff 2010), so they accepted the area of the city based on visual and ethnic attitudes (White 2014*a*). They often looked for a flat or a house to rent or buy in an area, where other Polish migrants lived (Hunt et al. 2008, p.33); (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.121). The participants in this group shared information where it was reasonably safe to live on Polish forums and websites. Safety was especially important for the migrants with spouses and children (White 2014*a*). These methods of finding a home caused notable ethnic segregation in the city (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.121). For example, Teresa[54] wanted to live with Poles but what is more, she wanted to keep away from other ethnic minorities, which showed the racialized approach as part of some participants characteristics in shaping their experiences of attachment and belonging experiences (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012). Belonging also requires racial homogeneity – attachment was constrained with specificities of social

[54]Teresa was 33 years old women in cohabitation relationship and had one child (15 months). She settled for 6 years in the UK.

context (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*), where the division between us and them was presented (Anderson 2013).

> *I thought that I could move somewhere, but this city is incredible. I feel safe here. There are not too many Indian and Pakistani people, which could provoke us. Moreover, everything is nearby. We live in a very good place, everything is close to our flat, so it is easy to do everything with a child.*
>
> (Teresa 29:44)

Some of the participants, who were in the UK for a relatively shorter time and did not experience satisfactory conditions after their arrival in the UK or they did not visually accept the city, gave the impression that they did not experience a strong attachment to their rented property or place. The emotional attachment to the place seemed to be possible when Polish migrants felt safe, and when they accepted their living conditions (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). The acceptable living conditions meant that they had a place to sleep and to store securely their belongings. Otherwise, the participants looked for a accommodation in other districts of the city or even in different cities. For example, Cecylia and Karol[55] lived in one room in a terraced house shared by several migrant families. They shared a bathroom and kitchen with other occupants, and the only room, which was their private area, was roughly 12m2. Moreover, they already lived there with one child while expecting a second child. Their accommodation conditions were extremely poor.

> *We hope to move to another [nicer] place, to Southampton. There are similar costs of life, and there are more job offers. (...) there are also higher wages. The lower wage is 8,5 GBP or 9 GBP.* (Karol 11:34)

They could not afford to rent a flat or a house just for themselves, because the properties were too expensive. For some of the participants, it was enough to rent accommodation to feel that they had a home. The safe place (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016) (room, flat, or house), where they could keep their own furniture, clothes, and other items, was enough to feel that they returned home after work. Lech, who got a council flat in the UK, emphasised that the flat was almost his, and he did not see the difference between owning the flat or renting with social support. In that case, the migrants seemed to prefer to settle in one place and did not move again. The participants' migration

[55]Cecylia and Karol migrated in one year difference. Cecylia was in the UK for 1 year and Karol was for 2 years. When they moved they did not have financial resources. They did not have money, so they had to save as much as they could. To show their financial situation I would like to highlight that Karol when he arrived alone at the beginning, he walked from the airport to the city centre to save money.

seemed to be their life project; upward social aspiration for material improvement was important for shaping their views of the past in Poland and present in the UK (Runyan 2018).

> *We rented a flat... Since 2016 [pause] since 2013 we have a council house. It is almost like our own house, as our home. We do not have to rent, it is almost ours.* (Lech 17:05)

It is also worth noting that the time, which the participants spent abroad, was important for all of them. The participants clearly said how many years they had been in the UK. It is interesting that they highlighted that they wanted to have a home and stay in the UK, but only the participants, who were in the country of destination for a longer time[56] emphasised that it might impact their experience of belonging (Ryan 2010, p.373). It showed the dynamic, they might not be aware of it but their experiences might change over time (Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski 2009, White 2014*b*); (Ryan & D'Angelo 2018, p.6). For some of the participants, it seemed to be important that their daily lives were similar to the British citizens. They seemed to feel that they had been in the UK long enough that they could live similarly as British.

> *We have the same life as 80-90% of autochthons*[57] (Sara 28:15)

This approach was not common for all the participants, the minority of them were willing only to highlight differences between them and locals regarding living conditions.

Finally, some participants who had an assumption of staying permanently and definitely did not want to return to their country of origin, could think about the UK and a particular place in the UK (a city or a town where they currently live), not only as a second home. Such a place became their new home and they considered it in their hierarchy as their first home, in which built their social anchors. Franciszka owned a house in the UK, and it may have impacted her strong attachment to the UK.

> *Here, [in the UK] I feel that I am in my place. When I visit Poland, I think about when I will come I'll be back home. My home is here [in the UK]. Actually, I do not think when I come back I'll be in the UK, I think when I come back, I'll be home. My husband also tells me that we could come back home, even if he is in his family house [in Poland].* (Franciszka 15:107)

[56] By longer time of migration I understood this to be a period of more than 10 years abroad

[57] The word autochthons is more sophisticated expression, but this word does not any technical or negative connotation in Polish language.

6.4.2 Fitting into the new society

On the one hand, the participants, who planned to stay in the UK, highlighted their need of fitting into the new society. They identified a way to adapt to the new society and to be active participants within it (Guarnizo et al. 2003, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, p.130). For example, Helena emphasised that it was important to be open, she did not want to be bound to one ethnic group (Hunt et al. 2008, p.33).

> *I also thought that I should be open to the new society. I do not want to be here like many other Poles... ten years and they have monotony and they do not appreciate life here. I do not want to live in a cave. It would be better to return to Poland, because there are still people and they live there.*
>
> (Helena 18:43)

Similarly, Sara[58] showed her openness by possessing friends from different cultures and countries, which could help in the embedding process (Ryan 2018*a*, p.241-241). The example of Sara showed that the participants did not stay in touch only with friends in Poland or migrants tied to Polish communities in the UK, this appeared as the embedding process of transnational social networks (Friberg 2012, p.1601-1603). Some of the participants were more open and flexible due to their language capacity (Ryan & Mulholland 2014*b*, Wessendorf 2015, p.16-17); (Koelet et al. 2017, p.444). However, this could be also caused naturally, since the migrants, who spent such a long time abroad, were more likely to lose or at least loosen their social networks with family and friends in Poland (Morosanu 2013, p.359); (Koelet et al. 2017, p.444). This seemed to contrast with the participants discussed in Chapter 5, who were focused on their return in Poland. However, longer migration with a settlement plan was consistent the UK policy, which expects the migrants to adjust to the new society. Such an approach was presented by Sara, who had been in the UK for 9 years. She said:

> *We have friends from work. We have friends from the uni. I have friends from the college. We have Polish too, but many friends are all nations, because we work with people from different countries: Italy, Portugal... from everywhere. We enjoy spending time together.* (Sara 28:50)

One of the ways of willingness to fit into the new society was shown by integrating with the local community and neighbourhood. The participants belonged because they were active actors of social life by engaging in local initiatives (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007,

[58]Sara was 33 years old married woman and had two children (3 years old and 7 months). She moved to the UK and stay for 9 years.

p.130); (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). Celina[59] was part of Neighbourhood Watch[60]. This organisation engaged civilians in order to prevent crime and vandalism in the neighbourhood. The group members educated other residents of the community on security, and they reported suspicious people and incidents in the area to the authorities. What is important, the participants wanted to demonstrate of being good citizens (Anderson 2013), because they desired to settle in the UK. For example, Zofia[61] emphasised her nice behaviour, which was her strategy to fit into the society by presenting social embedding process in action (Ryan 2018*a*, p.242).

> *If you are nice and polite, you can get everything what you need and want.*
>
> (Zofia 36:246)

The participants' attachment was stronger to the UK, but their identification seemed to be transnational (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, p.14). Similarly, Olga[62] emphasised that her British friends' good opinion of her was important to prove that she fit into the new community, where she wanted to settle (Anderson 2013).

> *I think [hope] that my English friends have a good opinion about me.*
>
> (Olga 25:58)

Knowing the language seemed to be important for some of the participants to feel like a part of the new society (Wessendorf 2015, p.16-17). The participants without language capacity but with the hope to settle in the UK, looked for strategies, which would allow them to settle smoothly despite the lack of language capacity. Some of them simply learned English. Olga was able to pay for private lessons to improve her language, and consequently to be able to develop her cleaning firm. The cost of English lessons was high for her, because she had a low income as a cleaner, but it was important for her to improve her language skills (White 2014*a*, p.73). It was an investment for her future life in British society, and future business development in the UK is associated with aspiration for a better life and for material improvement (Runyan 2018).

The participants, for whom settled belonging was important without English language capacity, were developing other strategies to broaden their knowledge and to discover skills, which could help them to live in the UK. They felt that they became engaged in

[59]Celina was 29 years old women and had two children (3 and 5 years old). She was married to British citizens. They all had British citizenship. She moved to the UK and settled for 10 years.

[60]It is an organisation, which brings neighbours together to create safe and friendly communities.

[61]Zofia was 37 years old single mother. She was double returnees, first time she was for a few months and return and 2 years later she came and stayed for 3 years. She had one child (2 years old) with British citizen.

[62]Olga was 49 years old married women and had five children (29, 27, 26, 25, 21, 13). Only two youngest children were with Olga in the UK. She settled for 4 years in the UK.

the new society by extending their knowledge of the country and place where they lived, however, they acquired the information from social media such as Facebook groups. For example, Facebook profiles, often created by Polish migrants in a specific city or town, were uploaded with practical information on where to buy products or where to find specific places. On Facebook groups for Poles in the South West of England, the participants asked for recommendations on places, where fresh vegetables could be bought (see Figure H-4).

What is more, the participants, who had poorer financial situations, might not have been able to invest their money to improve their language skills or might not have felt a need to learn the language, so they might be in a disadvantaged position (Anthias 2012, p.106). Yet, they found a way to get the information they needed and felt attached due to the knowledge of the place where they wanted to live. Lech heard from other migrants about street markets and car-boot sales (see Appendix H). He knew that on the street markets, he could buy things he might need for in lower price. For him, the difference in prices was significant, he regularly visited car-boot sales to buy almost everything he needed. It seemed that Lech paid attention to the prices because he was frugal, and he considered it as a success, when he was able to get a deal on an item he needed, which also could be related to his settlement perspective.

Finally, one of the participant in vulnerable situations[63] showed a way of developing a know-how to live in the country, where he wanted to stay permanently, and where he felt attached and safe (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016).

> *If you wash stairs, it will take 40 minutes. You have to firstly sweep, because there are smashed bottles. Often, people sit and drink alcohol during nights on the stairs. So, on the stairs, there are broken glasses and cigarettes, so I have to sweep and wash the stairs after all. Then I have to hang a new rubbish bag. For doing this job, I receive two vouchers [like this] and free accommodation for one night. Because for one night the cost is 24 GBP. You do not bother about food, you do not have to bother about accommodation, you need to only shave and change clothes. That is all. [pause] And you have to change linen by yourself. But it is easy, you go to the staff and you tell them that you want to change linen, and you change it.* (Edward 05:50)

The comfort and confidence, he demonstrated, were based on his experiences and knowledge on how to survive and how to receive help or food when he was in a vulnerable situation. This strengthened his attachment to the city, which he already familiar with.

[63] The vulnerable Polish migrant was a Polish homeless migrant in this thesis.

Edward showed that he was well informed about places, where free food was served. He was homeless, he did not have any income because he had not worked for the last two years, so he discovered places, where he could eat for free in the city in which he decided to settle. He developed anchors and attachments, similarly as other participants, to the city or town where they lived (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, p.1131). He did not have any accommodation, which he could call home, but for him, a part of the city, which he knew well, was home. Additionally, Edward knew how to receive vouchers (see Figure H-5) from various charities, which allowed him to eat and have a place to spend the night. He seemed to know all of the charities' rules, so he had all of the necessary information without English language skills. Interestingly, time he spent in the UK did not change his language capacities (cf. Martinovic et al. 2009, Martinović 2013). I had a chance to observe Edward during his daily routine. I discovered that he knew many Poles from whom he received all necessary information, additionally some charities employed Polish staff, from whom Edward could also get information in Polish. He also seemed to act in such a way that he could be considered as a *good citizen* (Anderson 2013).

6.4.3 Detaching from Poland and other Polish migrants

The participants, with plans to settle in the UK, still had some attachments to Poland, but they appeared to dream of their own and their children's future in the UK. Their children's British identification was stronger, they seemed to show more transnational thinking of identification (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, p.11); (Vertovec 1999, p.450). The participants possessed social networks in Poland, and even though they did not travel to Poland often, they were in touch with family via free connections (e.g. Skype) or a landline telephone (Halilovich 2012, p.173); (Ryan et al. 2015, p.204). They kept only the strongest ties (Ryan et al. 2009, p.74); (Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, p.209); (Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1213), decimating number of their friendship in Poland (Ryan 2018*a*, p.245) The participants maintained their transnational social network and had transnational practices, but simultaneously, they also shaped their anchors and attachment to the UK by building new social networks there.

> *I am in touch with family only. We live in a century of technology, so we have Skype, and phone connections are often free to Poland, if you call landline phones. So I often spend hours talking to my cousin. (...) I am also in touch via Facebook.* (Franciszka 15:63)

The participants maintained transnational social networks; some of them were stronger than others but they had social networks in the UK and in Poland (Halilovich 2012).

Some of the participants seemed to experience stronger barriers to travel to Poland. The main reasons were travel costs, which was mainly brought up by the participants with family members in the UK. Travelling with family automatically increased expenses in comparison to the participants, who were singles, and this showed intersectional perspective in shaping attachment experiences (Anthias 2012). The participants, included in this group, seemed to think about visiting Poland for more extraordinary reasons, for special occasions such as family events including weddings, first communions, baptisms (O'Flaherty et al. 2007, p.823); (Ryan et al. 2015, p.207) or for health care appointments, which was mainly the grandmothers' motivations (3 participants) (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*). It is important to note that the participants often stayed in the UK already with their closest family (17 participants), sometimes also the grandmothers joined them in the UK, so they might be less motivated to visit Poland as often (Ryan et al. 2009, Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, Erdal & Oeppen 2013) as the participants presented in Chapter 5, who had strong motivations to visit Poland. Finally, the participants seemed to build their attachments to the UK, and simultaneously, the process of detachment to Poland was present in their life. They were focused more on their life in the UK, so their need to visit Poland decreased.

> *Our visits to Poland are dependent on whether there is any family celebration or not. Last time when we were in Poland, we attended the first communion of my husband's godson, and we baptised our daughter. (...) Previously I was... I do not remember when I was... it was probably a wedding. Maybe our wedding in 2014.* (Franciszka 15:91)

The participants with children wanted to keep their family ties in the UK, especially when the grandparents were still in Poland (Ryan et al. 2009, Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, Erdal & Oeppen 2013). The participants in this group did not travel to Poland often, but the grandparents managed to come to the UK, and to take care of their grandchildren (Zontini 2004, Nesteruk & Marks 2009, Ryan et al. 2009). The different characterisation of various experiences of attachments and belonging had wider implications. The change appeared in visit patterns from Poland to the UK, for example, when the family felt settled and attached, they became more willing to invite members of their family to the UK (White 2011*b*).

> *They [the family] come regularly. My mother [pause] she visited us only twice during this time. My mother does not work and she is alone at home, so it is nice for her to spend time with children. My parents-in-law visit us on Christmas or when the children have holidays from school. For the summer holiday, the grandchildren go to their grandparents in Poland.*
>
> (Sara 28:52)

Generally, the participants emphasised that they did not need and did not look for Polish friendships in the UK. They even seemed to distance themselves from other Polish migrants. They might distance themselves because they did not accept other migrants' behaviours, which could be related to the class distancing (Ryan et al. 2009, p.368). It showed the class differentiation among Polish migrants (Anthias 2012).

> *It is shame, when I walk with my child to the shop, I can hear Polish language and I understand what they are talking about. I feel shame, and what could the British citizens be thinking?* (Cecylia 11:50)

The participants in this group seemed to show transnational identification in their experiences, and at the same time, it appeared that they seemed to experience more local anchors and attachment in the UK also by distancing themselves from the Polish community. The relations between Polish migrants can be expressed as dog eat dog as described a few of the participants included in this group. The participants were afraid that Polish migrants would not help, but rather harm each other. Therefore, Poles emphasised that their coping strategy to avoid troubles from other Poles, was to separate themselves from them (Ryan 2010, p.366). For example, Lech mentioned that they wanted to have privacy, which helped them to avoid gossips and distress. The reasons for the distancing between migrants could be caused by the lack of trust between Poles, as they wanted to compete with others (Ryan 2010, p.366). Helena had a negative opinion of Polish migrants. It looked like it was challenging to find true friends among Poles.

> *Terrible, terrible, terrible, awful... everyone is single-minded. Everyone is jealous about everything. You lose your friendship if you have a better life condition than others. (...) I keep distance from other Poles. They [Poles] gossip.* (Helena 18:60)

To sum up, the participants' distancing showed the differentiation between good and bad Poles. They distanced themselves from other Poles and highlighted the lack of trust between Polish migrants. The participants included in this group, who presented their wish to settle in the UK, seemed to show their hope to have a home in the UK,

which might have been aligned with their ethical segregation because the attachment was negotiated differently among migrants.

6.4.4 Attachment to Polishness in daily practises

The participants discussed in this chapter presented their attachment to Polish food, which was the most important anchor for the participants as part of their attachment experiences to Poland (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). They emphasised how significant Polish cuisine was for them, especially, the taste of Polish meals, which they remembered from their childhood. They preferred to buy Polish products (Rodriguez & Schwenken 2013), which were not available at the majority of British shops. Furthermore, the participants among all groups (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 7) highlighted that there were some meals that they missed, which were typical for traditional Polish cuisine e.g. dumplings[64], red boscht, breaded pork cutlet[65], and cabbage soup[66].

> *Dumplings with cabbage and mushrooms [laugh]. My grandmother made the best, and I miss them. I miss Polish food, but I do not prefer everyday Polish food such as 'schabowy' [breaded pork cutlet]. We have favourite meals, which we used to eat in childhood, so we cook Polish meals sometimes.*
>
> (Sara 28:54,77)

Finally, the participants kept the Polish traditions, which often included preparing meals for Christmas and Easter (Brannen 2011). The participants also kept some typical Polish traditions such as blessing the food eaten for Easter Sunday breakfast[67], meat-free dishes for Christmas Eve dinner. Generally, they talked of Christmas or Easter, as the only Polish traditions (Levrau et al. 2014).

> *We celebrate Christmas for sure. We have Polish Christmas Eve. What is more... we celebrate Easter and also All Souls Day mostly because my mother flies to Poland in that time.* (Franciszka 15:89)

The experience of the attachment to Polish traditions and food confirmed that the participants were dynamic in their attachments. Their attachments were still something, which they remembered from Poland, however, they also constructed the attachment to the UK, which appeared to be transnational experiences and practices (Schiller et al. 1995, p.49).

[64] pierogi
[65] kotlet schabowy
[66] kwaśnica
[67] święconka

6.5 Experiences of social membership – institutional level

For the participants in this group, the social membership was an important dimension of their belonging. They highlighted their need of social support, their needs were based on whether they had children, and their settlement or plan to stay in the UK. The migrants showed subordinate attitude to the authorities in the UK (including the social security system). They did not emphasise their social membership rights, but they beg for support. If they had access to a social security system, then they highlighted their gratitude to the state, which could also be an experience of being acknowledged as part of society (Colombo 2010, p.148). What was especially interesting, some participants presented personal gratefulness for their social membership, not to the social security system or the institutions providing such support, but the Queen. Such personalisation towards social membership was represented by Olga, who emphasised her gratitude to the Queen.

> *I appreciate extra money from the Queen [laugh][68]. I am grateful to the Queen that I could spend time at home, when my husband had irregular work, I could stay with my children. Being at home was very valuable for my family. I wanted it, but when I came to the UK I did not know whether this was possible.* (Olga 25:53)

This could be understood either as a need to personalise the unknown institution, or as a lack of knowledge of the social system in the receiving country. The participants might not be familiar with the structure of the system, which was abstract for them, so they tried to describe their experiences based on general information, which they possessed.

6.5.1 Need-based social membership

When the participants settled in the UK, they experienced some-how effortless opportunity to get jobs compared to situation in the sending country (King et al. 2006, Kilkey & Merla 2014, p.89); (Koelet et al. 2017, p.442). However, they also wanted to use additional opportunities to increase their financial stability in the UK (White 2011*a*). The participants appeared to be aware that were social benefits, which they might be eligible to claim in the UK. The information about social benefits were presented on websites, forums, and shared in informal talks among migrants. Some of the participants, who were eligible, appreciated additional money, which they could get at the beginning of

[68] The laugh which appeared during the interview seemed to not be a joke. It was rather emphasised because for Poles monarchy was relegated to the dim and distant past, and considered more of a fairy-tale for children.

migration (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.214). The money was used to rent decent accommodation, because the costs of renting were significantly higher in the UK than in Poland, and some participants did not have enough money to pay rent or deposit.

> *It [benefit] was a gift from heaven, because I was able to rent a flat. It was important at the beginning.* (Lech 17:09)

The participants with children also appreciated the support received from the social system, because it gave them the opportunity to have a similar amount of money every month, as they had, before they became parents. This narration appeared more frequently in the interviews with female participants, who highlighted the significance of financial income for mothers, who might not be able to work full-time after child birth. It showed that intersectional category differentiated the participants' experiences (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983, Crenshaw 1989, Collins 2017, Anthias 2012, p.106). After giving birth, mothers tended to work less to take care of the child, so their salaries were lower, but they could claim family benefits, and might receive monthly around 100 pounds. Such amount of money has been already regarded as to be important for their monthly budget.

> *In my case, benefits were very helpful, because I do not have a high income. It is helpful that I do not have to pay for a flat. I was supposed to apply for more benefits, but I do not know [the regulations]. Also I do not have to abuse the system. It is enough to have money to be able to live and pay our debts. If we have two sources of income and we did not have a child, then we would have the same amount of money as currently with benefits. So it is acceptable even with a child.* (Teresa 29:27)

Similarly, Olga showed the importance of family benefits, which gave her the opportunity to spend time with family, which was her priority. Among the participants in this group, the advantage of social benefits, which gave an opportunity to be with children, favoured women; the gender differences were significantly presented (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983, Yuval-Davis et al. 2005). What is more, some participants receiving benefits could combine studying, a part-time job, and family responsibilities including childcare. Substituting a number of working hours for studying or family duties was only possible thanks to access to the social benefits.

> *I was able to study and work. I work part-time, and I receive benefits... I can work part-time. I cannot leave my job. If I have to work full time, then I will not have time for family life.* (Sara 28:69)

It appeared that the benefits were supportive, the social security system seemed to be important for the participants to feel more secure and safe (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017), however, claiming benefits was not the primary migration plan but rather an emergency way for the participants in more challenging situations. The participants in this group did not think of receiving benefits right after their migration to the UK, because they usually did not have enough knowledge on how the social benefits system works. They were rather strictly focused on finding any employment in the beginning of their migration plan (Carmel & Sojka 2018).

> *I think it is easier to plan the future here. I am calmer, I have a job. If you do not have a job, then you can get benefits. There is always something to support you. You do not have to be afraid.* (Celina 39:10)

Some participants also mentioned that there were Poles, who cheated to get social benefits.

> *I know people who cheat. It has been forever. There are people in relationships, they live together, and they work, but she claims benefits as a single mother, she got a council house, and benefits etc. There are lots of such people... I have heard of these people, I am not in touch with them.*
>
> (Helena 18:49)

Some of the participants also showed some gaps in their knowledge of how the British social security system works, this could be considered the main cause of several misunderstandings, and hence the negative presumptions that other Poles abused the welfare system. For example, one of the participants emphasised that it was unfair and even illegal, in her opinion, that migrants claimed benefits in the UK, and then transferred these benefits to Poland. She was sure that this is an illegal strategy used by other migrants, but she could not provide evidence for it, because she never checked the regulations. She was convinced that Polish migrants cheated. Helena was convinced that most Polish single mothers were abusing the welfare system in the UK.

6.5.2 Children-based social membership

The participants with children perceived their children as a justification to use their social membership in the UK. Their social membership became more acceptable because of their children who, as emphasised by the parent participants in this group, were British. The social membership rights based on children rights seemed to be a convincing justification for them to access the social security system. It appeared that they needed this rationalisation to explain their motivation to claim social rights. It

might be linked with a feeling of shame or stigmatisation, when they claimed social support (Schweyher et al. 2019). A strong stigmatisation of migrants claiming benefits existed also in Poland, based on the presumption that only Poles, who were in a lower class, accessed social security system (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983, Crenshaw 1989, Collins 2017, Anthias 2012, p.106). At the same time, stigmatisation was also present in the UK, especially voiced during the Brexit campaign.

> *The situation was changed, because I have a child, and I need some help and financial support. There are benefits also in Poland. If you worked 5 years, the state [Poland] gives some money, because you gave birth to a child. We would like to stay here permanently. There are better life conditions.*
>
> (Teresa 29:28)

Additionally, the participants with children highlighted that they received family benefits based on the responsibility for their children, which was the main eligibility requirement to claim the child benefits, as well as a residency of at least three months in the country (Kennedy 2011, 2014*b*). Such benefits were considered as *a gift from the Queen* for their families, so they appreciated this form of social support.

6.5.3 Settlement-based social membership

The participants claimed that they deserved to access the social security system in the same way British citizens, because they were settled in the UK and had similar lives to the natives. The migrants' lives were similar to the natives' lives, because the participants worked and paid taxes similarly as natives, then they should have the same privileges (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, Anderson 2013). This was illustrated by Olga's attitude to life in the UK, in which, she summarised that the rights should simply be equal amongst all people paying taxes. She explained it in the following way:

> *We have worked here and we have paid taxes. The taxes are not that low. Therefore, we have rights to claim [benefits] as all people [British citizens] who live, work, and pay taxes here.* (Olga 25:60)

The participants appeared to show their subordination to the state by showing their commitment to the state. The participants believed that they should have social membership rights because of their worthiness to the society, being good or at least tolerated citizens (Anderson 2013). They pointed out that their contributions allowed them to meet the eligibility criteria to access the social security system (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*). Helena highlighted:

I was a single mother. I work and live here, and I pay rent here, I pay for food here, I pay all utilities here. I receive money from the state for these essential life needs. (Helena 18:52)

It is not difficult to find a job here. If you work and you do not have enough money to live, then you have a right to claim benefits. But the main thing is a job. There should be a minimal length of employment before you can claim benefits. However, the benefits should be available from the beginning, because it is difficult to survive without social support after arrival [to the UK]. (Helena 18:57)

6.5.4 Tendency to access health care system in the UK

When the participants seemed to be more settled in the country of destination, they simultaneously did not travel to Poland often. The decreased number of visits to the country of origin impacted their opportunity to access the health care system in Poland (NFZ). They were more open to use the health care system in the UK (NHS). They also might complain about the NHS, but they they seemed to have a more positive approach toward the NHS (cf. Cook et al. 2012, p.339).

I do not have any complaints, any complaints. I gave birth here [in the UK]. I had a great service. It was only 18 min. I did not have any problems at the hospital. (...) I did not have to pay, and I also got milk for baby. (Zofia 36:245)

For some of the participants, accessing the health care system in the UK, was a process, which did not happen right after their arrival to the UK, but happened gradually. The participants progressively limited their travels to Poland, and they made appointments with the GP in the UK. The positive aspect of accessing the NHS for pregnant participants was that the access was free. This might also show the class category in creating social membership experiences (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983, Yuval-Davis et al. 2005), because the participants were often not insured in Poland so they could only use private health care services. They might have transnational opportunities, but in practise, they did not have more choices because of financial limitations (cf. Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.217). Moreover, the participants found more advantages of the NHS in comparison to the NFZ. For example, the grandmothers emphasised that there was a significant advantage to the NHS, because elderly people were not charged for medicines in the UK (see Figure H-3), while such benefit did not exist in the NFZ. However, older participants, who used the NHS, did not completely refuse to access NFZ in Poland, they

preferred to have an opportunity to check their health regularly in the place they were used to, and they made regular health checks in Poland. They seemed to take a mix and match approach to their healthcare (Duda-Mikulin 2013*a*,*b*, p.217).

> *I am going to Poland because I registered myself one year in advance to see a cardiologist. I am a patient of cardiology health centre, I have to have health tests once a year.* (Grażyna 10:61)

The participants (Grażyna, Ewelina) considered travelling to Poland in case of an emergency situation or if the treatment was more complicated (Cook et al. 2012, Duda-Mikulin 2014). Similarly, they could plan various healthcare visits when they visited Poland. However the visits were mostly because of family reasons, possibly with the only exception of dental services, which were considered as expensive in the UK even through the NHS, so the participants had a reason to go to Poland (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). Ewelina could pay for dental treatment and travel costs to Poland, and still paid less for dental treatment compared to the UK. The participants believed also that the quality of treatment was better in Poland. What is more, they were accustomed to the dental treatment in Poland, and they were more familiar with the procedures in their country of origin.

> *I access the dental centre here [in the UK]. If it is a more complicated case, then I travel to Poland. It will be cheaper, and here, if it is a more complicated case, they [in the UK] just want to remove the teeth and that is all. And I do not want to lose my teeth. I am aware that they do not want to treat my teeth here [in the UK]. I heard that a private dental treatment is expensive here, so I do not have enough savings. In Poland, it will be 6 times cheaper.* (Ewelina 41:10)

Although the participants, who thought about their time in the UK as more permanent, trusted the quality of the health care system in Poland, did not experience any reasons to complain about the NHS. They did not travel often to Poland, so they rationally became open to accessing the NHS, however, they seemed to want to have a chance to access the NFZ in the case of an emergency (cf. Cook et al. 2012, p.339). It was their emotional need of safety to have emergency health care provider, which they were used to.

6.6 The overlapping dimensions and coherence of belonging

The participants' experiences of belonging in this chapter were also experienced dimensionally, and the dimensions overlapped. The identification of the participants was primarily defined as Polish, but they also seemed to wish to have at least two identities: Polish and British, which showed their transnational experiences (Vertovec 1999). It was also seen that the participants' attachment was diverse; they were attached to the UK, and they wanted to fit in to the new society by knowing the language, or at least being familiar with the place where they lived (Wessendorf 2015). It overlapped with their approach to the migrants' assumption of their children's identification. The Polish parents, discussed in this group, wanted their children to identify as British, and they searched for coherence in the children's experiences of belonging. Although they might find themselves being rejected by the British society despite their true wish to be recognised as British and good citizens, they strived to construct British identity of their children that they had right to live in the UK. For the participants, who were parents, their children were British, and so their children did not need Polish passports. The birthplace of the children, together with the parents' credence of the children's identification and belonging to the UK, impacted the way the parents thought about the children's belonging. The parents assumed that their children would never return to Poland, so they did not need a Polish passport, which could distort the process of creation of identification (Paine 1993, p.225-227); (Golden 2002, p.20).

Moreover, for the participants, who had children with British citizens, it was an additional reason to think of their children only as British. Zofia mentioned that her son was British because his father had British citizenship, and the father's citizenship determined the son's citizenship. The mother's citizenship did not matter for their children's identification and citizenship. She did not pay attention to his Polish citizenship as much as to the British.

> *I have responsibility [shows her son]. He is my 'small' responsibility, he has to be a British citizen. We live here, I settled here. It is his country. I will adapt him to this country. Poland is not his homeland. I suspect that he could get Polish citizenship because of me, but it [Poland] is not his country. [The UK] is his country, he was born here, and he has to settle here. I can live here as his guardian.* (Zofia 36:65)

The experiences of parents in this group showed that they thought of their children's identification, attachment, and membership in a coherent way as British citizens. Simi-

larly, they naturally talked about their own identification, attachment, and membership. They seemed to know that they were Polish migrants, and they were fixed in this category. Zofia said in the quotation above *it is his [son's] country*, so she separated her own and her son's identification. However, the participants and their children still kept their attachment transnationally, as they had social networks in Poland. Despite, the importance of social networks in Poland for them, they did not visit the country often, and they prioritised social networks in the UK (Ryan et al. 2009, Ryan & Sales 2013, Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, Erdal & Oeppen 2013).

The need for the rationalisation between identification and membership was important for the participants, who married a British citizen. They emphasised the importance of consistency of citizenship for their family. One way to experience cohesion between the place of living and an identification was a dual citizenship. They did not want to feel that the members of their family had different official identities and memberships, because they had different passports. For Celina, it was even more important than for other Polish migrants, because she married a British-born citizen, so she felt a stronger need to have the same citizenship as her British family.

> *I applied for a [British] citizenship after our marriage. It is a difference when you write in your CV that you are British. You are equal to others. When I was pregnant, I wanted to be British together, as a family.*
>
> (Celina 39:19)

More importantly, Celina did not look to adjust her family to her membership, rather she wanted to have British citizenship, because her identification was not only Polish. She wished to be recognised as British, which was part of the differentiation between us and them (Pateman 1992, Kymlicka & Norman 1994, Lister 1997, Anderson 2013, Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.48). Moreover, she identified her children as British, and she saw a chance for them to have a future career in the military or national security departments. Celina wanted her son to have the option to apply for a military position, therefore she did not want to apply for a Polish citizenship for him. The positions in the department of defence or military branches might only be for British citizens, so Celina assumed that the double citizenship was considered a formal barrier to achieve a high position in military departments in the UK.

The participants, who move to the UK with the intention to stay permanently, often imagined that they could have a better life in the UK. What is more, among Polish migrants and non-migrants in Poland, stereotypes of superiority of Western European countries exists. For example, a college degree from Germany or the UK is considered as

worth more than one from Poland, or work experience in a Western European country means that you have better qualifications than someone in Poland in the same position (Ryan 2010, p.368). Thus, some of the participants might dream to be equal to British by having the same citizenship, or having children who were considered to be British.

Lastly, the participants who wanted to stay permanently in the UK, may not be able to apply for the citizenship, because some of them experienced financial difficulties in applying for a British citizenship.

> *The citizenship... it costs too much... Currently I have other priorities and responsibilities. The children are secured because they have [British citizenship].* (Urszula 32:50)

> *I would apply for a citizenship, but the costs are incredible. It is 1300-1400 GBP... it is too expensive.* (Franciszka 15:83)

> *I heard that the citizenship exam is very difficult. By the way, it is too expensive for me... it costs 1000 GBP. It is too expensive. I cannot afford it.* (Teresa 35, 60)

If a non-citizen would like to apply for British citizenship, then the person has to become a resident first (for at least 5 years) and pay 60 GBP to get a proof of residency[69]. After one year since receiving the proof of residency, the migrants could apply for British citizenship, which costs 1156 GBP (Yeo 2018); (Cinar 1994, p.56); (Golden 2002, p.18-20). While the participants might want to get British citizenship, many of them were not able to afford the cost of application process, so their lack of British citizenship may have been due to a financial limitation (Pateman 1992, Kymlicka & Norman 1994, Lister 1997, Yuval-Davis 2011*b*, Anderson 2013, p.48). Thus, they did not even allow themselves to think of becoming British citizens. They wanted to live permanently in the UK, but they could not have a British passport. This did not, however, change their identification, thinking of their children's identification, and it did not change their approach to migration and thinking of their transnational belonging. The lack of formal categorisation change neither their thinking about their own belonging, nor their children's, but might have given them more confidence and confirmation of their rights for the future (e.g. because of Brexit).

Figure 6-1: The visual representation of the set of characteristics of the participants in this group i.e. migration with a clear plan to stay permanently often with family members, and to create *home* in the UK

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how the participants expressed identification, attachment, and membership in the context of their migration experiences. I presented how their experiences were formed in a coherent narrative, which was neither closed, nor a limited set of experiences, but a coherent set of understandings and experiences oriented to individual, collective, and institutional levels, and shaped by expectation of stable and permanent life in the UK. The experiences of the participants were across dimensions of identification, attachment, and membership. Those dimensions were distinct and related to their migration experiences, orientation on long-term stay in the UK, and motivation for migration.

The group of participants experienced their multidimensional belonging in diverse ways, but there were some commonalities among their experiences. For those participants, who wanted to pursue a better life, aspirations of material improvement were significant. The participants' experiences could be shaped by intersectional categories, as the

[69] Those requirements on the date 1.09.2018

participants were diverse in terms of educational background and employment status in Poland. However, the participants highlighted their motivation for migration-based employment opportunities, therefore, it might mean that at least some of them perhaps have precarious employment in Poland. What is more, some of the participants experienced a deskilling process, which also showed class category that differentiated the experiences of belonging of the participants (Kofman 2012, p.70). The social positions were important for the participants, which also appeared in their motivation for migration (Kilkey & Merla 2014, Koelet et al. 2017, Ryan et al. 2009).

On the one hand, the participants in group, who presented themselves as vulnerable, had class position that could be classified as lower than in the other participant groups (see Chapter 5, and Chapter 7), which in turn could impact their belonging experiences. This stays in the contrast to O'Flaherty et al. (2007, p.823), arguing that the migrants, who were more settled in the country of destination, were willing to visit Poland and their family more often. They felt responsible for family members in their country of origin, and wanted to show Poland to their children. They maintained transnational social networks, which seemed to be important to their identification, and partial attachment experiences. This appeared to be only partially seen in the research presented here, since the participants described that visited their families for special occasions (weddings, communion). But in other circumstances, they did not necessarily visit their family in Poland too often, which discovers class and financial situation as an important characteristic in creating the participants' experiences. Therefore, intersectional perspective adds a potential explanation here, as financial resources could be the reason, why the participants described in this chapter did not travel so frequently.

On the other hand, considering class categories such as income, financial resources, property ownership, and education, the participants in this group were mixed. They possessed similar aspirations for their migration project and their focus on finances. They differ from the other groups because they earned and spent money in the UK, so their living cost could be higher, and it directed them to underline their vulnerable position. This difference in approach to migration could be based on both intersectional categories, and time, which the participants spent in the UK. They could move to the UK without any financial resources, therefore, it took time for them to build financially stable position in the country of destination. The participants, who had employment, might improve their financial situation over time. It was not a given that they might be able to do financial situation, hence there was some possibilities to change the participants' class position. Interestingly, the time perspective, which seemed to be important for the participants, did not come often in their narration, they seemed to be confident

at this stage, when the interviews were carried out, that they would stay permanently in the UK. The assumption of long-term commitment to the new society was not a fixed idea and depended on circumstances, but in all the stages of their migration decisions, the participants wanted to feel secure and have a stable plan for their life (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). The decision about settlement seemed to be made after migration, sometimes just before or after double return (White 2014*b*,*a*). Their decision was a part of their plan or a consequence of lack of other choices in the country of origin. For some of the participants, time, which they stayed became more important, because they wanted to become UK citizens, they had to fulfil formal requirements before they could apply for citizenship (so at least 6 years of residency in total) (Cinar 1994, Golden 2002). Therefore, the length of stay could be also a barrier, they had to wait before they could become citizens, and in consequence, this waiting period influenced their membership experiences as a dimension of belonging. Interestingly, some of the described participants wanted to become citizens to feel more a part of the community. It was linked with need of coherence in identification (Colombo 2010), and attachment, and finally with membership, because they then could felt that they, as British citizens, acquired the same rights as other British (Anthias 2006). The citizenship provided the participants right to vote but voting rights were never raised by the participants as important, so British citizenship was considered as a proof of formal belonging.

The multidimensional experiences of belonging were seen at three levels: individual, collective, and institutional. The participants identified themselves as Polish; they expressed it strongly in their narration of belonging. They identified as Polish also because they noticed the lack of possibility to identify and or to be identified as British. They felt that they were recognised as migrants in their local community (even if they wished to be seen as British), for example, because of their accent, they were recognised as foreigners (Ryan 2010). They appeared to experience the differentiation between *us* and *them* (Anderson 2013), which was difficult and challenging for them. The feeling of being foreign seemed to have a strong impact on the participants thinking and experiencing identification. They might feel that they had to identify as Polish because they did not have any other options. However, the participants, who had dependent children, identified their children as British, and to a lesser degree, Polish.

The parents seemed to be aware that the children would not be recognised as foreigners due to accent because children attended school so they had a British accent. The participants' children were considered as native English speakers, so from the participants' perspective, they could easily identify themselves and be identified by others as British. The participants seemed not to create hybrid or double identification (Carmel 1999,

Sayegh 2008). At collective level, attachment of the participants was focused mainly on creating attachments to the UK, and home in the UK they created. They wanted to fit into the society, which they chose to be their home. They still could have social networks with other Poles in the UK (Nee & Sanders 2001, Koelet et al. 2017), but, in general, they also appeared to distance themselves from other Poles in the UK, whom they did not trust. The participants maintained their social networks transnationally and despite they settled in the UK, they had social networks in Poland. In their transnational experiences of belonging, the participants prioritised their family networks in Poland, because they did not visit Poland often (Ryan 2011). They also used some of support from Polish family members e.g. to take care of children (Ryan et al. 2009). For example, the grandmothers moved to UK and took care of grandchildren when parents were at work (Zontini 2004, Nesteruk & Marks 2009). It was mutually beneficial, for parents because they had good and trustworthy care for their children, children had a relationship with their grandmothers, and finally for grandmothers as they did not stay alone in Poland. Additionally, the participants, who had English language capacity, were more open to become part of the community and their social networks became more diverse (Wessendorf 2014, 2015). The social ties in the UK were important for the participants to build attachment and belonging.

The migrants included in this research could be recognised as foreigners in the community, so following Anderson (2013) approach, they could be seen at the most, as tolerated migrants because they were hard working, legal, and taxpayer migrants (Guarnizo et al. 2003, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007). The same participants seen as tolerated migrants, were distancing themselves from those migrants, who were recognised as illegal, unemployed, or those considered as social tourists. The tolerated migrants could also be guardians of good citizens (Anderson 2006, 2013), which seemed to be a way of showing that they were good enough to be part of the community, because they accepted and acted in accordance to the existing regulations and requirements. Furthermore, some of the participants were also parents, who thought of their children as British citizens. Since they cared for and raised good citizens for the UK, therefore, they expected to have the rights to live in the UK based on the effort put in to make their children good UK citizens. Finally, including intersectional perspective, there were Polish migrants within Polish community, who had more privileged jobs. The skilled workers judged themselves and other migrants based on their social status. The strict divisions between the migrants included in this type of belonging experience were unclear, but some of the migrants could be seen as white-collar migrants e.g. of they worked at the university administration. Those participants, who had more stable employment or were employed in more prestigious places, seemed to be seen as more privileged than low

skilled migrants (McDowell 2009).

Moreover, the participants discussed in this group wanted to build their life in the UK, had a main foothold to such life was their property. They often did not own the actual property, but they treated the rented property as their own home. Having a home was equally important as possessing financial resources to feel safe and secure. Those experiences were significant in creating attachment and experiences of belonging (Janeta 2011, Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Being attached to the community meant that the participants felt safe in the country (Ignatieff 2010), and they could plan their future.

Finally, membership at institutional level had a strong impact on the participants' belonging experiences. The social security benefits supported the participants' need of feeling secure. They believed that they had the rights to access the health care system and other social security rights because they were good citizens (Anderson 2013), and they wanted to live in the UK. They wanted to prove their loyalty by *not cheating the Queen* (Nicholas 2013, Carmel & Sojka 2018), behaving well, and raising their children as British citizens. The participants showed that they should have all the same rights as the British because they worked and paid taxes, or by seeing themselves as vulnerable members of the community, who needed support from the *Queen*.

The distinctiveness of these experiences and their coherence needs examining in relation to other groups of participants with different orientations to their migration and settlement. For this, we turn to Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Categories seem to limit us

Am I European? No, [pause] those categories seem to limit us. We all are on the world. I would like to say that I am a free man. I am a citizen of the world. (Jan 08:45)

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the clusters of closely resembling experiences shared by the participants, whose migration plans were significantly related with future career opportunities. The commonalities among the participants in this group such as their motivation, planned permanent stay in the UK, and transnational practices, were identified. Those commonalities appear to be shaped by social characteristics, especially class, but there were not, by any means, determined by them. The flexible and undefined orientation of migration project, mainly regarded as professional opportunities, was significantly important in framing their identification, attachment, and membership, and constructing belonging experiences at three levels: individual, collective, and institutional.

This chapter discusses the common clusters of experiences and practices among eight (8) participants. The socio-demographic characteristics of this group were as follows: there were five (5) male participants, and three (3) females. The age of the participants was between 29 and 35 years old, with one participant aged 58 years old. Three of the participants were single, three in cohabiting relationship, and two were married. Only one participant had a child over the age of 18. They were Polish migrants, mainly one-time migrants defined as professional migrants, one was a double returnee professional, and one was a circular migrant. The participants lived between 5 (a circular

migrant) to 14 years in the UK. Following the participants' employment, there was not much variation in the participants' employment status as they were mostly employed as professionals. Two of the participants were unemployed at the time of the interview as they were seeking for better job options. All participants were university graduates with two of them holding PhD degree.

In this chapter, I present experiences of the participants, who seemed to show some similarities in their approach to migration and belonging. The participants in this group were consistent in relation to class. They were highly skilled migrants, who did not experience a deskilling process during migration. Rather, they migrated because they had better career opportunities in EU countries other than Poland. They were not obligated to migrate to the UK. They spoke fluently English, which could help them choose the UK as their country of destination, but they also considered other EU countries to move to in the future in relation to their career or to explore other countries and cultures.

In the first part of the chapter, I discuss the motivation of migration in relation to the thinking of time, which they planned to spend abroad. In the second section of the chapter, I show some commonalities in the participants' experiences of their identification, which appeared to be untied with well defined categories. The highly skilled participants preferred to be unlabelled to their nationality, but if they felt pressured that they should be categorised, they favoured to use broader and more abstract terms such as European or global citizen.

In the third part of the chapter, I explore the participants' attachment to the local community in the UK, and to secure and comfortable living conditions (e.g. owning property, whereas being open minded to sell it). Some of the participants preferred to own property that was a comfortable place and at the same time, an investment for future security. The participants showed similar thinking patterns about their ageing parents, which seemed to be a strong attachment for them. I also analyse the participants' detachment from the local community, which was not consistent in all participants' experiences. Some of the participants were seen as migrants by locals, so they were recognised as outsiders, and those participants demonstrated superiority toward other Poles in the UK based on class. Moreover, the highly skilled participants were less likely to present strong anchors to the Polish traditions with the exception of some Polish food. However, even though they seemed to enjoy Polish cuisine, their attachment to it was less significant than to other migrant groups.

Finally, I explore the experiences of social membership of the participants in this group.

The participants distanced themselves from social membership, but some of them were open to applying for British citizenship because they treated this in a utilitarian way and as an opportunity to travel more easily to the USA[70] Considering social membership rights, the migrants were either not eligible, or they used to a higher standard of living, hence they did not consider using them. They preferred to have alternatives, especially, when planning for the future i.e. retirement, and health care treatment. They considered having a British pension but only as extra precaution, since they already had alternative financial resources, which allowed them to invest their money into properties or stock market assets to increase their future security. What is more, they did not trust that the social security system could secure their future. They also showed that they used their opportunities by choosing transnational health treatment. The participants had different travel patterns to Poland, but in their approach they simply wanted to avoid waiting times for medical appointment or to have the best quality treatment (Cook et al. 2012).

7.2 Temporality and motivations of migration determined by career development

The participants, discussed in this group, were neither obligated to migrate from the country of origin, nor to stay in the country of destination. They had chosen the country and the place to stay in for an unspecified length of time, based on their employment opportunities or to gain new qualifications (Ryan 2018*a*, p.242). They were aware of their right to move freely between the EU countries (Paul 2013, p.122-123). For example, Jan[71] mentioned that he was a qualified English teacher so he could move to any country, if he wished to do so (cf. Ryan 2018*a*, p.240); (Erel & Ryan 2018, p.12). The participants represented the assumption of indeterminate approach to migration; they did not know how long they would spend in one country. Time of migration was not defined in detail because they followed their career opportunities, and accepted the place where they stayed. The participants appeared to be more transnational or even cosmopolitan in their approach (Favell 2011), they were open to living anywhere and without barriers to travel.

> *Maybe I will go to Spain. I am a qualified teacher, so I can work as a teacher in all the EU countries* (Jan 08:20)

[70] Poland was one of the few states in European Union, whose citizens still were required to obtain visa to visit the United States. This has changed in November 2019, and Polish citizens can travel to the USA or tourism or business purposes for stay of 90 days or less without obtaining a visa.

[71] Jan was 33 years old, single, male participant. He migrated to the UK and stayed for 8 years.

The participants presented their career aspirations, which were related to their transnational migration. The migration could help them to gain professional experience and qualifications. They were aware of their free movement rights and they were able to adapt to their new environment without reducing their professional development, as in general, they could easily transfer their professional qualifications between countries (Favell 2011, Ryan 2018*a*, p.242).

> *I may return to Poland. However, I would rather prefer to move to France. I would like to move there only because I would like to try something new. I would like to live for some time in France, and see how it is. I do not want to go [there] only for holidays, and spend 2 weeks, I want to spend a few years.* (Olaf 23:63)

Moreover, the fluid approach to migration in relation to time was also linked with the participants' motivation of migration. The fluidity, referred to decision making process of participants, was changeable and significantly affecting their life abroad. The participants might have been flexible in their approach to migration, because it appeared that they did not want to specify in advance time that they spent abroad (cf. Griffiths et al. 2013, p.29). The migration for the participants seemed to not be the *time out*, and they were not waiting to start normal life after migration, but they appeared to be focused on time *now* and their attachment to their career and professional ambitions (cf. Griffiths et al. 2013, p.29). The participants did not experience a significant deskilling process at any point of migration because they had high qualifications (cf. Favell 2011, Kofman 2012, p.70). Therefore, the decisions about when and where the professional participants would move were made in relation to their next career steps. Some of them, however, might have experienced barriers and limitations in their professional career in their country of origin (Favell 2008). They did not worry about transnational life, they could be called European citizens, and free movement rights seemed to be obvious rights, which they wanted to exercise for their best interest. The direction of migration was to the West Europe because the participants sought for prosperous opportunities, which might be better for their future (Ignatieff 2010).

The participants appeared to follow the opportunities which they had got, so when they received compelling job offer from a particular company or university, they pursued it. The final decision was rarely determined by the location. Another point to consider was whether the participants would have stayed in Poland if they had better career opportunities there. The better career prospects would have helped to realise their class ambitions and also provided security for their future life (Hage 2012);(Griffiths

et al. 2013, p.6-7). Bogdan[72] decided that he would look for a job abroad. He started to search for job advertisements in the UK, because he spoke fluently English.

> *I stick to my career development. I have here more chances to find a job, and I experience more employment security. I can find a job in my profession. I am sure that I can find a better job here.* (Bogdan 02:40)

Furthermore, the participants had more opportunities of employment in the UK, especially relevant to research and development that is well established in the UK, but rather undeveloped in Poland. For example, migration was the only chance for Olaf to work in this specific area of science. This also brought thinking of the participants' ambitions, which were linked with class position (McDowell 2009, p.30). The participants were unwilling to accept any employment position in any place. Thus, the job offer was evaluated twofold, what new position might add the participants' career prospect, or how it may meet their financial expectations (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.12-14). Since, the most of the participants did not have children or other family commitments, they could be focused on their career steps (Mouhoud 2010, p.408-409).

> *There are mechanisms and possibilities, which are unknown in Poland. There is support in England for some research areas, which do not exist in Poland, so I would have to look for someone in England or in France to collaborate [pause]. So this is a reason why I do not return to Poland and I am staying here in England.* (Olaf 23:62)

Additionally, some of the participants (2 were self-employed) highlighted that they chose to live in the UK because it was easier to start their own business. The participants had commensurable experience of being self-employed in Poland, which, as they highlighted, was rather hectic experience. The main differences were related to the support, which the owner could receive for their own business from the state, the overall running costs of business were significantly lower, and lower taxes, which the participants had to pay in the UK. It showed that some participants could have long-term plans that were not related to the current location, but to their careers, which were linked with progression and moving further up with their business development, thus career opportunities.

> *Here [in the UK] it is a little bit different than in Poland. I feel that the state wants to help me. They encourage me to have my own business, to invest money, to have my own firm. If I want to do something then I will have more opportunities than in Poland. It is better here.* (Jan 08:57)

[72] Bogdan was 29 years old, single. He was self-employed. He did PhD in Poland. He migrated for 2 months first time and after 3 years he came again for 4 years.

7.3 Hybridity of identification – individual level

The discussed participants, who moved to the UK because they wanted to develop their careers, found challenging to define their identity. The identification seemed to be shaped in the process, which was amalgamating the migrants' past and current experiences. The migrants' past included history, background, roots, traditions, and values that they nurtured in the country of origin. And, at the same time, the migrants could not unreservedly identify with these values any longer. For example, Bogdan as a homosexual man did not identify with the traditional approach to family, marriage, and relationship that his family presented. Because of his sexual orientation, he did not feel strong identification with his country of origin. The other participants had similar approach to their past experiences, therefore, they rarely saw themselves as being Polish, or identifying with Poland. In many cases, they could not explicitly establish what *was wrong*, from their perspective, with their country of origin, and moreover, they did not feel the need to determine that Poland was ever a part of their identification.

Another example is Olaf, who would describe himself as neither Polish nor British. Such approach was quite common among the participants (6). They did not describe themselves with using strict national categories, since such rigid categories showed signs of limitations. At the same time, such identification did not appear to be a hybrid identity, because the participants presented to be labelled as non-category and non-space with regard where they could belong (Bhabha 1996, Meredith 1998, p.2). Some of the participants (2) seemed to be pressurised when asked to categorise themselves, with most compelling case of Olaf, who preferred to be recognised in more transnational or abstract terms, such as an EU citizen (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, Levitt 2004). The concept of a European identity appeared as a handy compromise, and succouring the participants to define their own abstract identity.

> *I am not one [Polish] or another [British]. I do not feel, in some sense, Polish. I lost it. I grew up in a patriotic family [laugh]. As a child I was taught lots of patriotic stuff. I do not have negative feelings, I still respect Poland. But this [patriotism] seemed to go far away. I live here too short or I have not met enough English citizens to be sure to say that I am English, or British. I do not feel British here. I feel more as European. (...) I feel more in between... over the English Channel [laugh].* (Olaf 23:62-63)

The professional participants showed that they would prefer not to talk about their identity or belonging. They called themselves European, meaning the European Union identity or even more broadly as citizens of the global village, but such labels still did

not meet all of their expectations (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). The participants' experiences seemed to be highly individualised and aligned to career and its progression (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). The participants highlighted that they did not care for labels; they lived where they wanted, and did not need identification based on nationality (Favell 2013). This group brought consideration of the citizens of the world without limitations creating by national labels (Kofman 2004*b*, p.648). For them, the dimension of identification was seen more as a barrier because the participants did not want to be classified, thus possibly stigmatised. Therefore, from intersectional perspective, the labels of identification could also be understood as the class stigmatisation. Being labelled or recognised as a member of a particular state or nation, could create a feeling of either being an outsider i.e. foreigner, or shame and disappointment by being classified with lower social class (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.9); (Anderson 2013).

> *Who am I? So... I am. I am myself. I never wanted to be locked in any categories. I think it [category] limits us.* (Jan 08:44)

> *I feel to be a part of the world or even a part of the Universe. I believe that we live in some unity.* (Marcin[73] 21:54)

Moreover, being a citizen of the world was an abstract, non-explainable idea for the participants. However, it appeared that for the participants, who called themselves citizens of the world, it could mean that they did not have to belong and they did not have to be classified because they could live wherever they wanted (Schiller et al. 1995, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007). By this, the participants could demonstrate their power in decision making process of migration, since they could decide about how they identified, thus tried to prove that they have choice where they go or stay (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.18-21). It was also strongly patterned by intersectional similarities in this group, which shaped the identification process (Anthias 2012, p.105-106). For the participants in this group, the freedom of choice was important, and identification was not limited to national or ethnic categories, which were considered as limiting potential opportunities. Paulina[74] lived for longer in various places in the world. Her experiences showed the possibility to feel well in different places with no particular need to create identification with a specific country or place (Carmel 1999).

> *I feel a man of the World. I do not feel 100% Polish or English. I do not feel as English for sure. I do not feel also as [a person] from the Africa... But I could live everywhere.* (Paulina 26:39)

[74]Paulina was 58 married with one adult child. She moved to the UK and stayed for 11 years.

The participants seemed to detaching themselves from any national identity. The identification related to the categories of nationality was defined too narrowly for the transnational migrants. They preferred to use broader categories, where thinking of European citizens, transnational, or global citizens might be still better fitted for them (Levitt 2001, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, Faist 2014). Furthermore, based on the interview with Ewa[75], it was shown that her individual biography helped determine her identification process. She moved to the UK when she was a young adult, and her early experience of migration impacted her identification process. This showed the identification was not necessarily passed from generation to generation - there were dynamic processes, which might have changed their creation of identification (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, p.14-18). Moreover, time, which the participants spend aboard might also be part of the factors, which impacted the process of creation of identification (White 2014*b*, Ryan & D'Angelo 2018, p.6). While their identification may not be impacted by time defined as length of stay, which the participants spent abroad, but rather time defined as how old the participants were when they started to experience migration.

> *I am European. I came from Poland and I live in the UK. I do not feel like a typical Polish, because I spent all my adulthood here [in the UK]. For example, I had never worked in Poland. I left [Poland] permanently when I was 23 years old. First time I came here [to the UK] was when I was 21 years old.* (Ewa 14:56)

7.3.1 Children identification

Among the participants discussed in this group, the intersectional family category was consistent. All except one participant did not have children. The participants were relatively young and their family situation could change over time (Anthias 2012). The participants could be seen as *Eurostars* (Favell 2011), and characterised as focused on career not family, however as suggested in (Favell 2011), this might change at a certain age, and children might become a push factor to settle down. Based on the only one participant in this group, who had an adult child (a student living with his mother), it could be suggested that the participant defined her child's identity similarly to her own. Paulina said:

> *My kid is... [pause] is global. The child lives in the UK now, but maybe feels more African.* (Paulina 26:178)

[75]Ewa was a 30 years old female, employed at the university as a post doc. She migrated for 9 years.

7.4 Experiences of attachments and detachments – collective level

The individual experiences of the participants might have impacted the identification process at collective level. What is more, the creation of identification was linked with the experiences of attachment. Ewa mentioned that she could describe herself based on the attributes from both cultures, she like most. She could also find shared values existing in both countries (Anderson 2013). Therefore, using cheery-picking approach to values and traditions, she could create attachments, which she appreciated in each culture, comprising transnational practices (Vertovec 2001, p.574-575). Identification, based on the collective behaviours and values, was shaping the participants' attachment. At the same time, the attachment expressed by the participants appeared as an abstract concept amalgamating their experiences, thus the meaning of being Polish or British did not have strict boundaries.

> *I tried to use everything, which seems to be the best from both cultures. I am hospitable, I like having guests, and I often invite guests. It is so typical for Polish. I also like to be diplomatic and have positive approach [to life] in general, and I like it but it is more British.* (Ewa 14:57)

The participants discussed in the group were simultaneously attached and detached from the new society. They appeared to focus on self-making approach to fulfil professional aspirations and to have opportunities to live as they want. Their migration plan was not defined in detail, but they wanted to live without limitations. The participants had power to make their own choices, thus to define their identification or attachments on the premise of self-development. The participants seemed to negotiate their attachment and sense of belonging, while they were embedding in their careers and professional knowledge in the country, in which they currently worked (Ryan 2018*a*, p.241-242). Although they showed transnational practices and experiences (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, p.142), they might be embedding more in one of the countries, in which greater career opportunities existed (Ryan 2018*a*, p.241-242). Time they spent in their country of destination would have originally been undefined, but may have been prolonged because of their successful embedding process through professional and social networks (described later in this chapter), which could have facilitated this process (Ryan 2018*a*, p.241-242).

7.4.1 Locality

The participants in this group desired to be uncategorised, but they shaped their attachment and detachment from local community based on their professional identification and social status compromise labels of privileges (McDowell 2009, p.30). Moreover, their attachment was shaped in the light of their approach to migration. The professional participants were not highly mobile (Favell 2013, Collett 2013, p.1) since they were neither obliged, nor wish to be highly mobile migrants (Bissell 2007, p.280). The participants rather showed flexibility in their decision-making about migration. They wanted to have a choice to follow their career thus to move, but at the same time, they also wanted to settle in one place for longer, and so not be in constant move. Through this temporary settlement, they might not actually realise when they were more embedding in the community, and as a result, they could prolong their stay in the place (Ryan 2018*a*). For example, Ewa mentioned that she did not like moving all of her belongings from one to another place. She was accustomed to the place, in which she had already been living for many years, and invested money to buy a house. Interestingly, the participants' length of stay and the experiences of belonging does not seem to be linked. The length of stay did not change the experiences of belonging, for example, some participants were in the UK for a long period of time, but life, in their narration, was still centred around job opportunities (Nannestad et al. 2008, p.608). However, the participants with a longer length of stay in the UK were more likely to emphasise that they stayed longer in a particular place, but they still prioritised their career development if they had been there for less than eight years.

> *I have a job here, and I bought a house [laugh]. (...) It will be difficult to move everything, because I have lived here for 8 years. It will be difficult. I think that I accustom to live here.* (Ewa 14:19)

The participants highlighted during the interviews, and showed in daily practices, that they wished to stay in place. The participants emphasised that they would like to have their own place, but home could be in any country around the world since it *just* depended on their place of work. Simultaneously, possessing property, they lived in, increased the participants' attachment to the place. It appeared that they wanted to develop their career, and they were open to move from one place to another to develop their professional experience, which contradicted with their undesirability to be *on move*. They wanted to have a place in which they felt comfortable, thus owning a property increased this life contentment but did not necessarily create emotional attachment to the accommodation, which they called home (cf. Kofman 2004*a*,*b*).

I like the city. I am accustomed to the place. I settled. The city is nice, and it is not too industrial. I have lived for 4 years in this house. I would not like to change it. I would have to look for a new house, and sell this one. It is difficult to organise everything. (Paulina 26:35-37)

The participants' attachment to the locality could also emerge by their active participation in some local events e.g. protest walk against ethnic discrimination (cf. Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). The participants seemed to feel to be the members of the European Union, so they did not feel that they were foreigners in the UK, as they saw all EU states as one European project. Based on the EU membership, they claimed rights to be in the UK, to manifest and to voice their opinions. Participation in protests or manifests seemed to be important in building their confidence and allowed them to present their opinions, because this was seen as a part of citizen engagement to the society, in which they did not feel outsiders, but rather active members, as they have rights to do it (Wessendorf 2015, p.16-18). Moreover, the professional participants were not alone in the UK, they possess social networks, which were ethnically diverse (cf. Nee & Sanders 2001, p.389), as they did not have language barrier (Ryan & Mulholland 2014*b*, Koelet et al. 2017). The social networks further impacted the participants' willingness of attachment and identification with place and people in this place.

I remember how one boy was killed. He was involved in illegal business. There were happenings organised in many cities in the UK because of his death. I was invited to one of them here in the city. I walked with other people. I could participate in it. I could discover and build my own belonging to the place [pause]. Also the Jubilee of the Queen. It also had impact on it. I could feel a part of the region and the country. (Bogdan 02:20)

I have lived here for 7 years. I feel like I belong to the country. I was a witness of some incidents. I was an active participant of some events. I build my own belonging to this country by this participation.

(Bogdan 02:32)

Interestingly, the participants presented their engagement into the local society but they also showed their transnational experiences. The transnational experiences were primarily related to their migration and career opportunities. However, they decelerated transnational activities as they wanted to be attached to one place, not in-between. They intentionally did not divide their lives between two countries, e.g. between Poland and the UK or other countries (cf. Ilcan 2002, p.2).

I cannot allow myself to live in both countries (Bogdan 02:23)

The attachment to one place at one time could be important for the participants to build their security and having a safe place to live whereas focusing on their careers (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). The participants approach to transnational practices showed the potential consequences of transnational life and being mobile (Iglicka 2001, Wallace 2002, Morokvasic 2004, White 2014*b*, p.36), which might have changed the participants' experiences of attachment and belonging (cf. Bissell 2007, p.280).

Overall, the participants' attachment experiences might have changed over time, because it was a dynamic process. The experiences of the participants in this group linked their choice to migrate and focus on professional live, meantime, seeking to feel settled in present-time place. And so, in their attachment, they seemed to prefer more settled approach, which was co-exiting with the participants' global identification. It was important for them to have their own place, and desire to be attached somewhere. Their belonging was rather described by the space, in which they chose to live, and where they chose to work (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Moreover, they often enough rehearsed their openness to move to a new country if they decide so. Their attachment was indeterminate in terms of a place, but at the same time, they looked for longer stay in one place if possible by having longer contract at their work. However, they did not need specified in detail their length of stay in the UK. Their attachment and length of stay was determined in terms of their career, the migration was expressed as a by-product of aspirational professional biography.

The participants attachment to work was important for them, at the same time, but they could also be detached from the local community. They could discern of being unaccepted by others because of class stigmatisation based on their nationality (Schweyher et al. 2019, McDowell 2009, p.30). Jan highlighted that he perceived people's disappointment when they found out that he was Polish. Even if the participants would like to avoid categorisation, they often were recognised that they were socially located in lower class position due to being migrants (Antonsich 2010, Anthias 2012). The professional migrants, on the one hand, were privileged to maintain their status as the position that they wanted, on the other hand, they had to confront with others because of categorisation and public stigmatisation (McDowell 2009). Both, labels related to the country of origin, and perception of such labels by the migrants and public opinion, were decreasing the participants' social position. Therefore, the professional migrants from Poland leaned, from the societal perspective, towards *them*, not the desired migrants (Anderson 2013).

> *When I meet new people, everything is fine until they ask me where I am from. When I tell them that I am from Poland, then I hear 'aw' [disappointment]. They seemed to be disappointed. It is a burden, which I have to carry on. We [Poles] are treated as a worse class of people [in the UK]. It is pity. I try not to bother too much about it.* (Jan 08:43)

The participants described their experience of being categorised as Polish migrants in a stereotypical way. The Polish migrants were seen as people, whose only reason to come to the UK was to claim social benefits (Garapich 2007, Carmel & Sojka 2018). For example, Bogdan did not apply for any benefits, despite being eligible for support from the social security system in the UK, because he did not want to be viewed as a stereotypical Polish migrant. He wanted to wait a bit longer and find a job rather than applying for job seeker allowance.

> *I would not like to be seen as a migrant... Poles have a bad reputation in the UK... that Poles come here and they claim benefits ONLY. They only take and do not give anything back to the state. I would not like to be seen such as them [other Poles], and this impeded me from applying for benefits.* (Bogdan 02:51)

This group of highly skilled Polish migrants was contesting some of the stereotypes that were used by locals and other migrants to make sense of their attachment and belonging. They experienced existence of subordinate status of migrants, which was also ethicised and classed (Anthias 2006, 2012). Thus, being *desired* migrants (Anderson 2013) such as professional, highly skilled migrants did not provide the confidence that they participants would be treated in the same way as British citizens.

7.4.2 Polishness in experiences of highly skilled migrants

The professional participants did not fully separate themselves from their country of origin. In their experiences still were transnational practices (Levitt 2001, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, p.133). All of the participants in this group experienced some emotional attachment to Poland (Schiller et al. 1992*a*, p.14), they missed Poland at the beginning of migration but the feeling seemed to decreasing gradually with extended time abroad (White 2014*a*, Ryan & D'Angelo 2018, p.6). It was not a linear process, it was more complicated (Ryan 2018*b*, p.5), but the length of stay abroad helped them to create the anchors and attachment to the new place. However, it was still possible to identify some of the emotional attachments to the country of origin. Firstly, the participants' emotional attachment to Poland was seen in their romantic memories of their country

of origin. The participants, who had such an idealistic and romantic picture of Poland, seemed to remember only beautiful landscapes and positive experiences from their childhood. What is interesting, some of the migrants mentioned places rather than people. They appeared to have sentimental memories of Poland but did not cherish the myth of return (White 2014*b*).

> *It is nostalgia... I miss lake and forest. I used to miss it a lot. I used to plan to buy a property in Poland. Now I seemed to miss it [Poland] less and less. Currently I travel more across England, and I discover beauty of this country as well.* (Marcin 21:42)

Secondly, the emotional attachment to Poland was related to the participants' family living in Poland, as they were in touch with their family members (Halilovich 2012, Morosanu 2013, Ryan et al. 2015, Koelet et al. 2017). They experienced transnational communication by prioritising strongly connections with their parents (Bidart & Lavenu 2005, Ryan 2018*a*).

> *I am in touch with my family. The most often contact I have is via the Internet. I use Messenger or Skype. I call [to family] 2-3 times per week. So I think it is often.* (Jan 08:25)

Similarly, when they visited Poland they met only parents and close family (Ryan 2018*a*, p.245). Their visits in Poland were not frequent (cf. O'Flaherty et al. 2007, p.823); (cf. Ryan et al. 2015, p.207). It appeared that they did not need to be present in Poland, and being in touch via the Internet fulfilled all their needs (Ryan et al. 2015, p.204).

> *Once a year. Sometimes twice a year. Last year I was only once. I often spend approximately from 10 days to 2 weeks.* (Jan 08:24)

The participants' visits in Poland were related to their feelings of responsibility for their ageing parents, who lived in Poland. The frequency of contact and visits might change when parents actually needed their help or care. Elderly parents were often supported by adult children (Ryan et al. 2009, Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, Erdal & Ezzati 2015, p.1213-1214); the support offered to elderly parents was mostly financial in nature, or the adult children lived with their parents, who needed care. Elderly parents were not placed in care homes, as this practice was still seen as unacceptable by Poles. Adult children were responsible for personally taking care of parents in need. As in the case of Paulina, her father needed her care and support.

I travel to Poland quite often. I have one parent... my mother died. My father requires care. He cannot be alone. He also spends most of the time with me here [in the UK]. He cannot be alone. Last year I was ten times in Poland, my father was sick, then I travel every week. (Paulina 26:13,33)

Additionally, the participants, whose parents were still active and healthy, did not need to take care of their parents, but they thought of situations, when their parents might need help as they get older. The participants felt a responsibility for their parents, and they highlighted that they might have to take care of them in the future. They considered various alternative solutions for taking care of their ageing parents, and the idea of moving back to Poland to care was certainly in the background.

I cannot forget... My parents live in Poland... I have to think what to do when they are older. Someone has to take care of them. My sister or I. We would have to return to Poland, or we would have to bring them here [the UK]. (Jan 09:22)

The participants, who had siblings in Poland, seemed to less obliged to take care of their parents. It appeared that they could share responsibility with siblings living in Poland, or even some of the participants felt as they were dismissed from the responsibilities. It was especially seen when the participants had a sibling in Poland, who could take care of their parents (cf. Ryan et al. 2009, Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, Erdal & Ezzati 2015). Interestingly, among the participants in this group, there was not strong gender division in their approach of taking care of ageing parents. The male and female participants equally felt the responsibility for their parents, whereas having less obligation if they had a sibling with whom they might split care (Anthias 2012). The main argument was, who would take care of the parents personally, and who would provide financial support based on the place of residence. What is important, in the context of Polish culture, is that there was still a strong focus on personal care for parents and not alternative care e.g. care homes. Therefore, the alternative way of caring might bring emotional struggles for the participant, who did not meet cultural expectations and only provided financial but not personal support. This consideration was possible because of the social and financial position of the participants, who voiced their declaration of financial and emotional support for ageing parents in need (Ryan et al. 2009, Yuval-Davis 2011*b*).

My father died, my mother lives with my sister and granddaughter. They can cope with everything, I suppose. I do not want to be seen as someone, who does not want to take care of mother. I only try to answer this question without any emotions. (Marcin 21:39)

The participants had a sense of responsibility for their parents, but simultaneously, it was challenging for them to imagine how they could organise their life in such circumstances as they lived and were focused on their professional careers abroad (Ryan & Mulholland 2014*a*, p.209). It appeared that, in their narration, that taking care of ageing parents is easier when living in Poland, otherwise, the participants had to choose whether they should move their parents to the UK, or they move back to Poland. Both options might bring new challenges for the participants and their elderly parents. It could be more convenient for them to take their parents to the UK (White 2014*a*, p.73-74), as in a case of Paulina, who moved her father. However, while the participants underlined financial support as obvious, the move to Poland to take care of ageing parents seemed to be less practical, as they could lose their source of income. All participants in this group expressed similar approach to their financial position and potential support for their parents. This showed coherence based on the class and social position (McDowell 2009, Anthias 2012).

> *It is difficult [pause]. It is difficult to say what I will do when my parents would need my help... sometimes it is enough to transfer money. If I have money it will not be any problem to send them. It would be the smallest issue.* (Olaf 23:53)

Moreover, the participants presented some transnational practices and attachments to Poland. They showed some of the characteristics of detaching from the country of origin. They were more reluctant to keep all of the Polish traditions in the UK. Some of the participants highlighted that they did not celebrate any Polish holidays creating impression of Polishness that was not important in their life.

> *I do not celebrate any Polish traditions. I do not think so. Nothing come up to my mind.* (Olaf 23:65)

Interestingly, even if the participants described lack of interest in celebrating Polish traditions, they missed Polish dishes and some Polish products, which were available in Polish shops in the UK. It showed the participants' fluid experiences of attachment and belonging. The habits and behaviours of the participants presented some degree of Polishness, but their Polish practises focused on Polish products were rather occasional, rather than daily routine. Despite this irregularity, Polish cuisine can be seen as an anchor in part of their belonging experiences, which still engaged them, from time to time, in Polishness (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017).

[Polish] sausage... I miss Polish sausage. I do shopping at Polish shop, not every week, but I do. I go to Polish shop to buy the products, which were not available in other shops. (...) I do not spend too much in Polish shops, but from time to time I buy some ham, sausage, or dumplings.

(Ewa 14:51-53)

Furthermore, many Polish traditions are related to Catholic holidays. The participants did not strictly celebrate Polish traditions, which might also have been due to the secularisation process, which they experienced. Thus, their celebration of Polish transitions was not related any more to the Catholic roots of those events, except of Christmas and Easter when they wanted to prepare some Polish dishes. They spent those holidays in the UK, so they bought products, which they needed to prepare dishes for Christmas or Easter, in Polish shops. This approach was more linked with the taste of food, not with an emotional attachment and a need for celebrating important traditions. They showed the choice in their experiences of belonging, they chose what they prefer and what suits their values (Rodríguez & Egea 2006, Brannen 2011, Levrau et al. 2014).

I prefer Polish food for the Christmas and Easter [laugh]. I like Polish food. I don't like English food. I eat beetroot soup and dumplings. I do shopping at Polish shops, not too often, but I like Polish products. It is a sentiment to Polish food. (Paulina 26:40)

Additionally, the participants' detachment from Polishness presented a class-dominant stereotype of other Polish migrants (Ryan 2010, p.361). The participants' attachment to their Polish family was not intrinsically seen in their approach to other Polish migrants in the UK (Ryan 2010, p.363). Firstly, they did not have a chance to build closer relationships with other Polish migrants, which could present different behaviours and values (Ryan 2010, p.365). This showed the social position of the desire migrants, thus class differences within co-ethnic groups (Anderson 2013, Kofman 2013). Some of the participants presented in this group distanced themselves from other Polish migrants (Ryan 2010, p.368), as a consequence of their difficulties in getting access to a Polish community at the beginning of their migration due to being newcomers without any ties to the Polish community. They were seen as strangers among Poles (cf. Duda-Mikulin 2013*a*, p.212). Olaf is an example of a Polish migrant, who experienced some barriers to integrate with the Polish community in the UK. Olaf discerned that he could not get into the Polish community, thus finally, he distanced himself from Polish migrants, who, in his opinion, behaved differently from him (Anderson 2013, Kofman 2013).

I have to admit that I am Polish, but it does not mean that I will be in touch with other Poles. My approach to life is different. I do not enjoy going to the park and drink vodka there. It is a waste of time. But some people [Poles] enjoy it. The Poles form the group, which is very closed and hermetic here. It is very difficult to become a part of the group. I tried [laugh].

(Olaf 23:70)

Secondly, the existence of the distancing between Polish migrants was class related. The participants expected to spend their free time in specific way (e.g. sport, or cultural activities), which was different form the way, which lower class Polish migrants spend their time (e.g. time with family at home, or work multiple shifts). It appeared that the migrants had different approach to their life and life expectation, which cause a barrier to build closer interactions within the Polish migrants community in the UK. For example, Olaf, as a professional migrant, mentioned that he had a problem with finding something in common with other Polish migrants.

In my opinion, they [Polish low skilled migrants] are a very closed community. I did not want to, but I used to try to make friends there. I wanted to meet other Poles. I felt rejected so I gave up, I do not want to try. I wonder if the problem was that I worked at the university, and they worked somewhere in warehouses. So in some sense, we were not from the same class. (Olaf 23:69)

The low-skilled participants were described by the highly-skilled participants as a lower class of people without aspirations (McDowell 2009). What is more, the professional participants e.g. Marcin[76], emphasised that the other migrants also were seen as less intelligent and less productive. He had some sense of superiority in comparison to other Poles, which could also be recognised as stigmatisation of migrants by migrants.

Many people [Polish migrants], who come here, wish to experience a miracle. Often it can be seen on the Polish websites. I can quote one lady who wrote: 'I am going to England, could someone tell me where I could register for benefits? [It looks that people's approach is] I do not know what is it, but I know that benefits are given. The person, who is more intelligent, will be prepared for migration. If people are more intelligent than they can live here and appreciate life. (Marcin 21:11)

Some of the participants appeared to present stronger dissonance between them and

[76]Marcin was single, and 34 years old participants. He moved to the UK and stayed for 12 years.

the other migrants, because they perceived themselves as more desired and welcome in the country of destination. They presented a social position thought their employment, behaviours, and language capacity (Anderson 2013, Kofman 2013). This class dissonance might impact the experiences of attachment of the participants in the UK.

7.5 Experiences of membership – institutional level

7.5.1 The overlapping dimensions and coherence of belonging

In this group of participants, the experiences of identification were coherent with the experiences of membership (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). The participants seemed to show a fluid approach to their belonging experiences, and they did not want to define themselves in relation to nationality, so they preferred to think about membership also in more abstract way. For example, Olaf, who did not want to possess the British citizenship, similarly he also did not experience identification as a clearly defined category. If he could choose, then he would apply for a citizenship, which might be defined broader as EU citizenship. The participants, who did not feel any identification to a particular country, defined their identity as abstraction. Such an example showed also that the identification and membership experiences were linked with the participants' attachment, which all were quite loose and fluid. The professional migrants seemed to be more detached than attached, and even if they were attached, they were attached transnationally, and their identification was also experienced transnationally. Therefore, the experiences of the belonging were coherent on three dimensions.

> *I feel more as European. If there is possibility to get the EU passport then I would prefer to have that one [EU passport] than British. I feel more in between [pause], I am as over the English Channel [laugh].* (Olaf 23:64)

7.5.2 Utilitarian understanding of citizenship

The participants had a workable approach to their belonging, so they did not reject the possibility to apply for citizenship as long they could justify the application by a utilitarian understanding of possessing the British passport. While they showed aversion to categorisation based on nationhood or citizenship, they could also endure some sort of classification based on citizenship when it could deliver more opportunities to travel abroad. Therefore, the citizenship was not experienced as part of the identification, but as asset or benefit contributing to their future. For example, Jan said:

Probably I would apply for a [British] passport. If I have the [British] passport I could go to other parts of the world. There will be no need to apply for visa to Australia, New Zealand, or USA. (Jan 08:19)

The main reason to apply for a British citizenship was to increase the chance to travel around the world without the need for applying for a visa. To have more flexibility to travel without any additional requirements, the British passport did not seem to be necessary, but rather useful. Similarly as in the other dimensions of belonging, the professional migrants represented cherry-picking attitude to their migration plan, thus to have a choice and to be free to make the decisions about their life. Some of the participants wished to have the opportunity to access all the countries without any barriers. Interestingly, the participants highlighted the significance of a British passport in global travel. However, based on Global Passport Index 2019, possessing British citizenship gave the chance to access ten more countries without a visa than possessing only Polish passport. In turn, being Polish citizens allowed to access five other countries, which British citizens were not allowed to enter without a visa.

The passport does matter. If I have a Polish passport I cannot go everywhere. I am not angry because of that, I still can visit London [laugh]. But I am considering applying for a British citizenship because it could make it easier to travel. I could travel without any problems almost everywhere.
(Marcin 21:48)

Moreover, some of the participants considered applying for the British citizenship because this could create new employment options (Favell 2008). As British citizens, the professional migrants would be able to apply for employment in governmental and military departments so the participants appeared to think about their professional ambition, and wanted to give themselves a chance.

I think [pause] if I would stay here [permanently in the UK], it would be a next step to apply for a passport. I think that I would have more opportunities. For example, a chance to go to the USA. I also think that I would find a job quickly. When I searched for a job, I think that I could be employed in many places, but the requirement is to be a British citizenship. I meant there are many governmental positions, at the departments of the Ministry of Defence, or in the places, where the new technologies are developed. So I think that the [British] passport could be helpful. Otherwise, I do not see a good reason why I would need it. (Olaf 23:15)

Finally, the participants suggested that they experienced financial limitation by having

only a Polish passport. As the Polish citizens, they had to apply for a visa if they want to travel e.g. to the USA[77]. The cost could be higher when they had to travel to the embassy and pay for a visa each time. But British passport appeared to be merely the participants' justification in their tendency to have freedom of choices (Anderson 2006, 2013), because in a comparison of the costs of applying each time for a USA visa with applying for a British passport, still costs of the visa were lower. Polish citizens could apply for a visa to cover a 10 year period, which costs approximately 100 GBP, so it meant that the migrants could apply for ten visas (equivalent of 100 years) to match the costs of a British passport. What is more, possessing the British citizenship would allow the participants to have active political rights. For example, Ewa mentioned that she would like to have the right to vote in the UK elections so she applied for a British passport (Guarnizo et al. 2003, Levitt 2004).

> *I want to vote [laugh]. On the one hand, I would like to vote. On the other hand, it is also easier when you would like to travel to e.g. the USA. I was at the conference in the USA, and I had to go to London to the embassy for the visa. It took time and there it was costly.* (Ewa 14:23)

Interestingly, in all the interviews across all participants in this study, Ewa was the only participant, who mentioned the political rights that she wanted to have. She ought to use her right to vote, but she did not have a strong sense of social citizenship, like the other participants in this group.

7.5.3 Alternatives to social security

The participants presented in this group showed that they looked for alternatives in their life, and they did not want to rely on social support. The participants preferred to have choices and be self-made, which appeared across all dimensions of belonging experiences, including social membership. The alternative choices were seen in thinking about future security and preference to be independent from social security system. Thus, they invested their savings into assets (plots, flats, and houses), which seemed to give them security (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). The properties could be located in different places, they considered them as transnational investment (Wessendorf 2014, 2015).

[77] From November 2019, Polish citizens did not need a visa for travelling for less than 90 days to the USA.

I think about the future... (...) I bought a flat. I was able to buy because I started to save money in early age. I knew that I would buy a flat. (...) the flat is on the ground floor. So I can live there forever. The flat has two bedrooms so I also could rent out a room to someone. So it is also a perspective for the future. (Ewa 14:63)

We also can secure our retirement, we can invest money in properties. When we rent the flat, we have monthly income. We can think of the money [from rent] such as the future pension. (Jan 08:11)

The professional participants also planned to invest money to secure their future in other way than properties investment (Ignatieff 2010, Hage 2012). For example, Olaf invested money in stock market. The most important aspect for him was to have control of his investments, whereas not relying on the state.

I did not want to pay contributions, and I realised after many years that I get nothing, because some politicians change something and I become ineligible to receive something. I would prefer to have control on my future savings. I would like to save money on my own. (...) I want to invest in properties and stock markets. It is worth doing it. Of course, you need capital at the beginning, and you have to learn how to invest on stock market, but it is worth to do it. (Olaf 23:19-20)

Additionally, the lack of trust to the pension scheme was related to the participants opinion about the politically based decision around pension scheme and social security system in general. The politics in state pension directed them to look for alternatives to secure their future retirement. However, none of the participants withdrew entirely from the state pension contribution. They expected that they would receive state pension, but they sought for an additional income to improve their living conditions, and became independent from the state at the same time. They expressed the distancing to the social security system to a limited extent.

They wanted to receive state pension because they felt they had a right for it since they paid contributions, at the same time, they preferred to be unconstrained by the social security system as they did not trust that the state scheme would work well in the future. Such approach showed clearly a classed based interest (McDowell 2009). Thus, they wanted to have choice, because they could not rely on state pension, or the state pension might be not sufficient to have acceptable living conditions in future.

We will receive the state pension, I would prefer to stay four more years to be eligible to for basic state pension, but we cannot be depended on the state... It does not matter if it is Polish or British pension. We have to think to be independent and secure. We can invest the money in properties. I would prefer to be independent. (Jan 08:17-18)

7.5.4 Distancing to social membership

The participants showed distancing approach to social membership. Firstly, in most cases, they were not eligible to claim social membership rights which were means-tested (Carmel et al. 2015*a*,*b*, p.27). They mentioned that they did not bother about social support because they were aware that they might not meet the eligibility criteria (Kennedy 2014*b*,*a*). For example, Paulina was unemployed for a short period, but she experienced a barrier to receiving Job Seeker's Allowance (JSA), because she had too much savings on her bank account, therefore, she was not eligible[78]. However, being unemployed does not seemed to emotionally devastate the participants as unemployment was interim status, and they were confident that they would find job. Thus, they did not look desperately to receive social support.

I had a contract when I came here [to the UK]. It was a fixed term contract, for two years. I had an employment gap between my first contract and my second job. It was a 4-5 month unemployment gap. I wanted to register as a job seeker, but I had 9000 GBP in my account, so I was not eligible to claim benefits. If I spent all the money then I would be eligible for it, otherwise I was not eligible. I could not understand this. (Paulina 26:29-30)

Secondly, the participants did not bother about social membership because the amount of money was not high enough for them, in their opinion. On the one hand, Olaf disregarded social support, as insufficient for well-earning people (Carmel et al. 2015*b*, p.27). On the other hand, he considered whether he deserved to claim social benefits, because he was not in actual need. Thus, he would not claim benefits even if he could, because he was sure that his financial and employment situation was better than most of other people, who needed social support. This example showed the class difference in approach to benefits by Polish migrants (Yuval-Davis et al. 2005, Anthias 2006, Collins 2009).

[78] However, based on the regulation she was entitled to receive 6 weeks contributions-based job seekers allowance, which is not means-tested, if she had been paying national insurance.

I read about benefits, and I could be eligible for JSA. But I did not look for a job, so I did not want to cheat. I also did not want to lose my time to prove and to search for benefits. I will waste a time for one benefit, which I could receive. It is fine, but still the amount of money is not high. But of course it can help for people, who were afraid of lack of money to survive. Considering scale from 0 to 10, I think that benefits are on 1 point on scale to help me. When I checked JSA there was 50 or 60 GBP per week. So I thing that it does not have any sense for me, this is too small amount of money. It will not be enough to pay for my flat. So I laugh when people scream that the migrants abuse the system and take only benefits... this is not high amount of money. (Olaf 23:34)

The participants in this group seemed to not pay attention to the details related to social security system. They were confident that they did not need social support, they could rely on their income and their professional qualification, which allowed them to find a prosperous job.

7.5.5 Fast and quality health care treatments

The participants focused to have choice in their live, alternatives in their future (Ignatieff 2010, Hage 2012), and finally options in their health care treatments. The participants in this group had ambivalent experiences with the NHS in the UK. The most problematic for them was the waiting time for appointments and treatments. Thus, they searched for the services which they could provide them quicker health care treatment (Cook et al. 2012, p.339).

When my hand was broken I had to go to the hospital. I had a motorcycle accident. It was emergency... I had to wait around 2 hours but finally I received help. (...) They [the doctors] seemed to have different approach to patients, but it was fine. In other hospital, I had better experience. (...) I used the NHS only twice in emergency. (Jan 08:35-40)

I had a few appointments at the GP. I registered myself to the dentists and I had to wait one year until I finally registered myself to the dentist. There was so long queue and I had to wait. (Ewa 14:15)

The participants as transnational migrants were in a comfortable situation, they had alternative choices (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, 2014), and they could choose the treatment in the UK or the country of origin because they had financial sources. They knew the differences in the health care services, so they also could take a pro-active approach

(Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, p.212). Therefore, the participants focused on their decision of treatment in their best interest. They wanted to receive the best treatment and health care, and they could afford it. When they believed that the dental care treatment was better quality in Poland they travelled there.

> *I access dental service in Poland. If I have to do something with my teeth I will go to Poland. (...) I go to Poland because I think that the dentist are better qualified there. I feel more secure when I go to Polish dentist.*
>
> (Jan 08:41-42)

The dental treatment was especially important for migrants. They often accessed the dental services in Poland because of their greater trust in the Polish dentists, also in case of long-term treatment (see Chapter 6). They accessed private dental care, which was possible because they did not have any financial barriers. What was more, the migrants wanted to have the best treatment so they were able to pay to receive the best dental care.

> *I always go to my dentist in Poland. My kid and I have all orthodontic treatments in Poland. My kid has long-term treatment, because there is different medical approach here [in the UK]. This is the reason why I travel every 6 weeks to Poland. I heard that [my kid] does not need a retainer on teeth, because all defects of teeth could be removed surgically when the kid grows up. Different medical approaches.* (Paulina 26:15)

Additionally, if the participants decided to travel to Poland to access the health care system, they accessed only private health care system. Their main reasons were as follows. They avoided waiting times for treatment (Cook et al. 2012), they chose to have the best quality of treatment, and finally they were not insured in Poland, so they were not eligible to access the public health care system. Ewa mentioned that it was important for her to use the private health care system in Poland, because she did not want to even try to access public health care system, as it would be not fair for the people in Poland, who pay taxes.

> *When I go to Poland I access dental service. I access only private dental care. I do not think that it would be fair to use public dental care, if I pay taxes here [in the UK]. Someone would have to pay for me in Poland.*
>
> (Ewa 14:13)

Finally, they preferred to pay for treatment in Poland. The most important thing was to have the quickest and high quality treatment. For those migrants money was not

an issue, but the most important was the ability to access their preferred alternatives. For example, Olaf highlighted that he did not want to wait, and even if he went to a private Polish dentist it was still cheaper than accessing a private British dentist.

> *I go to a private dentist. I go to private medical surgery, because I do not want to wait and look for dentist [in NFZ]. If I have money [pause], it is still cheaper in Poland than here.* (Olaf 23:24)

The migrants showed that the alternative choices, which they had, were financially related, they possess financial resources to travel to Poland and paid for private health care treatment.

7.6 Conclusion

Figure 7-1: The visual representation of the most important sets of characteristics of the participants experiences in this group i.e. migrants with strong European and global perspective of their belonging.

In this chapter, I discussed how the participants, who were professional migrants, expressed identification, attachment, and membership jointly with their migration experiences. I analysed how their experiences were formed in a coherent narrative, which was not closed or a limited set of experiences, but a common and coherent set of understandings and experiences oriented to individual, collective, and institutional level,

and shaped by ambitions and career prospect. These experiences among dimensions were distinct, related to their migration experiences, oriented on professional career with undefined time of stay in the UK.

The participants signalled a coherence among different elements of those dimensions, but every participant possessed their own experiences. There were identifiable similarities among those experiences, which allowed discussion of all 8 participants' experiences together. All the participants could be described as professional migrants with their middle class position (Anthias 2012). Their migration motivation was expressed and a by-product of aspirational professional biography (Favell 1999, 2011). Following their professional development, they seemed to be open to spend time abroad, which would gave them the possibility to improve their qualifications and fulfil their ambitions. For those participants, it was not to be important to define the length of stay. It was more important to define transnational or global perspective on their life, which provided them the chance to move freely between countries if and when they wished to do so (Directive 2004/38/EC) (EU 2004*a*, Favell 2008). It was related also to their significant need of autonomy and independence. Their social position was important for them in their migration experiences, the participants could be classified as good citizens according to Anderson (2013) In the participants' experiences, it was seen that the creation of the identification and belonging was a process that did not happen swiftly, and never reached completion (Hall & Du Gay 1996, Weaver 2001). The participants were aware of their privileged migrant positions, thus they seemed to see themselves and wanted to be seen by others in this way. Moreover, the participants appeared to avoid categorisation themselves by binary and well known categories, which often bring stigmatisation (Wadsworth et al. 2016, Runyan 2018, Rzepnikowska 2018). This perspective of describing themselves by the participants was seen in their identification process. When they talked about, who they were, they tended to avoid existing categories, often related to nationality. They appeared to experience identification by negation of the existing categories, which did fit them well. The identification, in their narration, was not easy to capture in single category. They showed rather hybridity or even more abstract thinking of identification (Bhabha 1994, 1996). The indicated the need of stability so they defined their identity in relation to broaden labels as European Union or the world, which in turn did not include barriers or limitations.

Furthermore, the participants were rather one-time migrants, they also seemed to not want to create their life as transnational, in-between countries (White 2014*b*). They preferred to feel settled, but on their own terms. They migrated because they sought opportunities, they also chose which country and place they want to live. They were

aware why they migrated to a particular place, and they created some local attachments to the community, in which they used to live and work.

The employment opportunities were important for them, because they could realise their professional ambitions, therefore, it seemed to be naturally that they were embedding because of their career in the place of employment. They possessed diverse social networks, which also were embedding them in the society, in which they lived (Ryan et al. 2015). They created new social networks, which were not ethnicised (Bidart & Lavenu 2005) as they did not have any language limitations to create or join to mixed ethnicity social networks (Wessendorf 2015). While, the participants were loosely locally attached, they did not disengage with all their transnational attachments. For example, they cooked Polish dishes and bought Polish products, however such practises were irregular, and so did not determine their belonging experiences. At the same time, the participants were distancing themselves from other Polish migrants. Such distancing was related on their social position, which did not align with other Polish migrants, who, in their opinion, behaved badly or had low ambitions. The participants maintained professional identities, attachments, and status, and these caused distancing from lower class migrants (McDowell 2009, Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*, Wadsworth et al. 2016).

All the participants in this chapter presented their strong transnational social networks, which attached them to their family in Poland. They could easily identify people, who were important for them in their attachment experiences. They felt responsible for their ageing parents in Poland, and it provoked frequent contact with them through new technology (Vertovec 2004), visits in Poland, and being open to support them, mainly financially if needed (Ryan et al. 2009, 2015, Erdal & Ezzati 2015).

The participants experienced also belonging at institutional level, however by manifesting an independent and fluid approach to their belonging experiences shaped by some cross-cut intersectional categories. Their higher social position might impact how they presented independence from social security system. The distancing from the social membership did not mean, they did not have own experiences of part of the belonging. Their advantageous financial position could shape their approach to social benefits, pension scheme, future security, and health care services. Firstly, they frequently were not eligible to access mean-tested social benefits, the benefits were on low level that the participants seen them as unworthy to spend time to apply (Carmel et al. 2015*a*). Moreover, the professional migrants could effortlessly find job, and their savings might be sufficient to cover daily spending during the interim period, when they searched for new opportunities. Secondly, they did not disengage entirely from the pension scheme as they paid compulsory contributions, but they seemed to treat the state pension as

extra option. They appeared to distrust the state pension as financially insufficient and politically unstable project to risk their future. They rather used their savings to invest in properties and stocks to secure their future (Ignatieff 2010, Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore 2017). Finally, social membership was also experienced in relation to health care system, which they exercised transnationally (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007). As transnational migrants, they had more available transnational choices, and additionally they possessed financial resources to pay for private treatment in Poland. More importantly, the participants made decision about treatment based on quality and short waiting times (Cook et al. 2012).

The distinctiveness of these experiences and their coherence needs further examination in relation to the other participants described in this thesis, who different orientations to their migration and settlement. The comparative analysis will be presented in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

Discussion

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the research findings presented in the empirical chapters (Chapter 5, Chapter 6, Chapter 7) in the context of the existing literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. As discussed earlier in this thesis, the experience of belonging can be considered in three dimensions namely identification, attachment, and membership. Based on the empirical analyses presented here, I identified distinctive similarities and differences between the groups of the participants, and this opens a possibility to capture a personalised *picture* of the experiences of belonging for the Polish migrants in the UK, and more broadly, to revise understanding of the notion of experience of belonging. While the participants' experiences of belonging are complex, dynamic, and multidimensionaly connected with various aspects of the migrants' life, it was possible to identify the sets of characteristics (forms) of the migrants' belonging experiences across the three dimensions: identification, attachment, and membership.

Firstly, I discuss the understanding of transnational belonging with respect to different sets of perspectives: the individual perspectives that migrants presented themselves e.g. motivation to migrate, and discrepancy between expected and actual length of migration; and the perspectives that were identified to play the significant roles i.e. transnational and intersectional perspective. It is shown here that all of those perspectives impact on the creation of experience of belonging.

Secondly, I discuss the forms of belonging experiences, which emerged from the empirical data in this research. Those forms: presentism, settlement, and fluidity were identified and created through the clustering of attributes among three dimensions of belonging.

While the presented forms can be seen as a relatively stable set of characteristics, it is worth noting that the experiences of participants could change, thus they can move between the forms of belonging experiences. In fact, the empirical data show that the belonging experiences are the dynamic processes, which might change over time and in relation to changing circumstances. The dynamics and multidimensionality of experiences contrast with the participants' wish (or need) for a rather stable sense that they belong to. The presented forms do not limit the participants' experiences but rather capture a picture of the migrants' transnational belonging experience during the course of migration.

8.2 The perspectives impacted transnational belonging experiences

The concept of belonging has been widely discussed in the literature, and the existing concepts seemed to point out important elements of experiences of belonging at the individual, collective, and institutional levels, including importance of feeling emotionally secure (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016), presence of politics of belonging with social locations in the experiences of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*), and the temporal dynamics of the belonging experiences (Ryan 2018*a*). Those elements were also significant for the analyses given that the research findings showed the presence of those elements in the participants' experience of belonging. The analysis of the conducted interviews allowed me to identify and to accentuate the dynamics and complexity of creation of the belonging experiences, and link with the migrants' significant perspectives. The perspectives that shaped the experiences of belonging are as follows: motivations of migration, temporal perspective on migration that overlapped with motivations and highlighted the importance of length of stay, as well as transnational and intersectional perspectives.

8.2.1 Motivation for migration

The first perspective considered here was the migrants' motivation to migrate. The decision about migration was a cornerstone to start creation of translation belonging experiences, and so it naturally framed a starting point to root the understanding of transnational belonging experiences in the presented analysis. Moreover, this perspective was present in the participants' narration, for example, the opening questions about general migration experiences, in many instances, led the participants to voice their motivations to migrate. As such the motivation of migration was often linked with the

better employment opportunities available on the job market in the receiving country, or the lack of jobs in the sending country. While the jobs prospect opportunities were the main motivations, the participants across the three presented groups possessed diverse employment opportunities, thus it was important to examine in detail the motivations of migration. The participants claimed that they migrated because of financial reasons, but the detailed analyses showed differences among the participants (Ryan et al. 2009). Moreover, the motivation of migration had influenced how the participants seemed to experience and create their transnational belonging experiences.

In Chapter 5, the participants highlighted that the employment motivation was understood as the opportunity to save money for the defined goals or dreams that were located in Poland. Their approach to work abroad seemed to be a utilitarian with the end point to return to Poland. The participants described in Chapter 6 appeared to see migration and employment abroad as a new starting point, and so as the only viable option to open a new chapter in their life. They sought employment to feel that they do not get stuck again in debts, precarious employment, or poor work-life balance, resulting in migrants' decision about permanent stay in the receiving country. In Chapter 7, the participants also considered employment as the main motivation of migration. However, their motivation was understood as a career opportunity, the step in their career to create more opportunities in future by acquiring additional qualifications and skills (Favell 2008). Their lives seemed to depend on their career opportunities, but they did not necessarily consider a return to Poland as they preferred to move to another, often European, country. The highly skilled participants might consider a return to Poland only if they had great job opportunities (Czerniawska et al. 2018).

8.2.2 Temporal perspective

8.2.2.1 Temporal perspective overlapped with motivation

Analysing the participants experiences in the three groups, both, length of the considered stay in the UK and the reasons for migration, were significant in creation of participants' experiences of transnational belonging. The research showed here that the idea of shaping belonging based only on the length of stay did not reflect all participants' experiences of belonging. The participants referred to dichotomy when describing their migration as temporary or permanent (cf. King 2002). However, the dichotomy was maintained by the participants in their narration about migration no matter how long was their actual length of stay. Some of the participants manifested their dynamic and complex experiences without realising that their initial assumption about the length of stay in not cogent any longer in practise. The approach to both, time spent abroad and

the motivation of migration, was part of the participants' experiences that impacted on their belonging experiences. Their experiences of identification, attachment, and membership were created in relation to the assumed and experiential time in the UK and the motivation of migration.

In Chapter 5, the participants assumed specific length of stay, which they needed to spend to save enough money to realise their goals in Poland (Griffiths 2014). While the motivations may stay largely unalterable during the migration course, the predefined length of stay often was extended due various factors e.g. fluctuation of currency rates. In Chapter 6, the participants did not specify their length of stay, because their motivation to stay and to have employment in the UK was linked with consideration of time in the UK as a permanent stay. Importantly, the actual length of stay was less perceptible factor than the actual participants' plan for the migration in their experiences of belonging. Both the individuals' experiences and policy expectations are inclined to linearise the process of settlement, however as shown in Chapter 6 for some migrants such process can be remarkably elongated (Dwyer 2010). In Chapter 7, the participants did not define time, which they wanted to stay abroad, because they were oriented on their career goals and thus, they were open to new opportunities which might come up.

8.2.2.2 Temporal perspective - length of stay

The research findings showed that the migration was challenging but important experience for all participants. The time of migration was threefold: as time which they had to survive and return to their normal/real life in the country of origin (presentism), as time which they began a new and hopefully more prosperous life (settlement), and finally time as a next step for their career (fluidity). The findings showed that time was important and considered by all the participants, but they named and defined time and length of stay differently. The findings showed that temporal dimension was not straightforwardly linked to length of stay. The temporal perspective was identified only as one of the factors, which helped to differentiate the experiences of belonging. The length of stay seemed to be seen as linear mainly for political projects of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*), in which time that the migrants spent in the country of destination might give them a chance to become formal citizens of the country. In this context of belonging, the length of stay might not be so significant for some of the participants (see Chapter 5) because they did not consider becoming British citizens (Cinar 1994, Golden 2002). This contrasts with the perspectives shared by the participants discussed in Chapter 6, who wished to become citizens but they might not be able to afford it due to fees for citizenship applications. The length of stay abroad had a strong impact on

belonging experiences, which was confirmed, in particular, in the analyses of the participants, who decided to return to Poland and faced new reality, which was challenging and unanticipated. Therefore, some of them *failed* in their return (White 2014*b*) and such experience of *failed return* also significantly reshaped the experiences of belonging (e.g. double return to the UK and planned settlement).

The participants analysed in Chapter 5 understood differently the migration process as their migration project was experienced temporary. Their belonging experiences could be seen as transnational, but their temporary perspective on staying in the receiving country lead to understand their migration in the UK as *time out* (Griffiths 2014). The presented findings confirm that the participants, who did not want to stay permanently in the UK, kept their options to return open. They seemed to cherish the myth of successful return to the country of origin (White 2014*a*). The participants might also want to consider the possibility of returning to Poland as a safe option just in case migration plans went astray (Ryan 2018*b*). The participants' experiences of belonging showed the significance of the temporal perspective as they could make their decision where they belong (Janeta 2011). Some participants, who extended their stay, still highlighted temporal presence in the UK. Alternatively, the participants, who decided to return to Poland after some time in the UK, could experience disappointment upon return and become double returnees (White 2014*a*), and so their experiences of belonging could be created differently than experiences of belonging of the participants, who wished to return but yet not returned. The experiences of belonging of those participants shared some similarities of experiences expressed by the participants discussed in Chapter 6. For the participants described in Chapter 6, time was important in the consideration for permanent migration projects in the new country. They did not consider the migration as *time out* (cf. Griffiths et al. 2013). The migration seemed to be a new way to have a better life, so in same sense, time could be seen as the beginning of new life, which started when they arrived to the UK. Finally, the third analysed group (see Chapter 7) did not define time, however the length of stay was counted by them what showed that time was important for them. They did not plan how long they could stay in the country of destination, thus their plan was not determined by the length of stay.

8.2.3 Transnational perspective

The analyses of the participants' experiences showed that the transnational perspective should also be taken into account. The participants created their transnational identification, attachment, and membership based on their own approach to migration and their experiences of belonging. My findings showed that transnational experiences

were part of the experiences of belonging for all groups discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7. The participants of this research were transnational migrants as they possessed linkage to at least two places (Schiller et al. 1992*a*). They sought to exercise their socio-economic rights in various ways: they travelled between the EU countries based on the rights granted to them by the EU, accessed to the healthcare system in the EU, had transnational families and maintained active social networks between people from different countries, owned properties transnationally, and they had transnational habits (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007), but the experiences varied across groups and dimensions of belonging. The participants made their own decisions about how they wanted to use their transitional opportunities and rights, which were linked with their experiences of belonging.

The transnational belonging was significantly presented in creating and maintaining social networks by the participants of this study. The embedding concept (Ryan 2018*b*) (see Chapter 2) showed the significance of social networks in the embedding process and negotiation of belonging in the new society. The presented findings confirmed that the social networks were created in different localisations by the participants, and strongly indicated the participants' transnational practices among all three groups as part of the process of experiencing belonging. The empirical findings show that there was not a simple dichotomy between embedding and dis-embedding but rather embedding is a continuous process. Therefore, a degree of embedding could better describe this process. Interestingly, the participants with transnational experiences were seen as those who constantly negotiated their transnational social networks and differentiated which social ties they build or lose and how they maintain them. Commonly, the participants prioritised to keep transnational ties with the closest family living in Poland, while sacrificing other relations because of limited time they could invest into maintaining them. The level of engagement in transnational social networks varied across the participants in the different forms, from at least a few times visits in Poland and daily online contacts with family and friends (Chapter 5) to maximum once a year travel to Poland and from time to time online/telephone contacts with parents (Chapter 7). The analyses showed that the social networks experiences become part of the attachment dimension important for belonging experiences. The analyses showed how the participants differently shaped their transnational social networks in relation to their belonging experiences.

It is worth noting that the transnational experiences could also pose a considerable challenge to some migrants. The transnational perspective in the experiences of belonging became problematised especially for returnees, who, after return from migration, had to face a new reality in the country, which they assumed they knew (Chapter 5). In-

terestingly, the transnational experiences can also be challenging for the highly skilled professionals (Chapter 7). Despite of no de-skilling experiences, the participants appeared to express their avoidance to live *in between* (Bhabha 1994), they wanted to be in one place even if they still kept their transnational social networks and attachments. The participants discussed in Chapter 7 wanted to define where they actually lived even if it was for a short time, the participants' short stay could be extended over time and they could become embedded in place. The participants wanted to feel embedding in diverse sectors by negotiating their transnational attachment and belonging (Ryan 2018*a*). This also meant that the process of transnational experiences of belonging was dynamic, but the participants analysed in Chapter 7 preferred to avoid mobility (White 2014*b*), which is presented as the important characteristics of current professional EU migrants. They looked rather for stability which was linked with being in one place. Even the participants, described in this research as professionals, did not want to be *too* mobile, they were open to move to another place (Favell 2011), but not be in constant move. They, when having a choice, preferred to stay longer in one place and to own a residential property (see Chapter 7).

The participants discussed in all the three chapters identified the need of defining the boundaries of their safe place in their transnational belonging experiences (cf. Kofman 2004*a*), the participants defined it differently but all of them desired some sort of security, which was presented in the literature as an important factor in creating attachment in the social anchoring concept (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). This study found that the need of feeling safe was significant for all the participants, however, the meaning of safety and feeling safe varied between people based on individual experiences.

The participants' need of belonging somewhere could give them feeling of security (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). My findings showed an evidence of the importance of security and possessing anchors in their experiences of transnational belonging. The need for emotional and financial security was experienced by the participants on all three dimensions of belonging, and the participants looked for coherence in their transnational experiences. Following the analysis, I argued that the participants included in this research, possessed transnational anchors. The participants were mostly transnational migrants who could *get stuck* in mobility (Morokvasic 2004), and they might have difficulties to live in one country. The participants discussed in this research were not as mobile as it was described previously in the literature, even professional participants (see Chapter 7) were less interested in being mobile or *Eurostars* (Favell 2011, Paul 2013). The transnational experiences and extended time of being migrants could change the participants' belonging experiences.

8.2.4 Intersectional perspective

The intersectional approach allows to analyse the data of the participants, who are situated in the system of categories, which could help to identify similarities and differences within and among groups (Berg 2016). My findings showed that the concept of politics of belonging needs re-specification in the light of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989). The participants included in the different forms of transnational belonging were differentiated in relation to gender, age, class (education, profession, and economic status), and family status. The most coherent group of participants according to intersectional categories was the third group (see Chapter 7). The participants in this group were highly-skilled professionals with crystal clear focus on career development, therefore they were not diverse in terms of the educational background and financial situation. What is more, the similarities of characteristics in terms of age and family status could impact on a strong resemblance between belonging experiences, thus the saturation point for this group was achieved earlier than in other groups (and this was also the smallest group in terms of the number of the participants in this study). The participants in this group could be classified as *desirable* migrants (Anderson 2013, Isin & Saward 2013), because they bring knowledge and skills to the country of destination. They also were presented as an idealistic model of the EU mobile migrants, who could you have free movement rights and transfer their qualification between countries. Those participants positioned themselves and were also perceived by the society as more privileged in the light of their class position.

In the other two groups (Chapter 5, and 6), the participants represented intersectional differences. They were diverse in terms of class, educational background, type of employment, and family status. This current research did not investigate the causality of the experiences of belonging. The participants described in Chapter 5 and 6 migrated to the UK mainly because of employment opportunities. However, the empirical findings showed that their actual attitude to migration was rooted in different life circumstances and motivation of migration prior to migration. The participants described in Chapter 5 seemed to feel confident in their class position, and had a utilitarian approach to their migration, which gives the impression of people, who were in charge of their lives. Such self-positioning often contrasted with the actual financial situation. For example, some of them had significant debts in Poland, but they seemed to feel that they had a rather deceptive choice what they can do and where they can live. On the contrary, most of the participants, whose experiences were discussed in Chapter 6, seemed to diminish their often high educational qualifications and previous class position, and so they felt that they have to prove their deservedness to stay in the UK.

They saw themselves as less valuable than native born citizens due to being migrants. As it can be seen, the perspective on migrant's own social position might be different between the participants in those two groups because they had different attitudes to migration, and they defined differently their time, which they planned to stay in the UK.

The intersectional perspective was identified as an important perspective in the analyses of the belonging experiences. In public discourse, the participants could be excluded from the society based on intersectional categories, for example, by being migrants or by claiming social benefits (Runyan 2018). Therefore, such existing and created intersectional categories were often challenging for the participants in creation of their belonging experiences (Anthias 2012), however such categories were required in the analyses to capture the complexity of the experiences among different groups of participants in this research. It is worth noting the intersectional perspectives did not determine the migrants' experiences of belonging, the participants shared intersectional similarities and differences among all forms of experiences. It was remarkable to show that the participants, who had similar age, gender, educational background, and class position could be in different groups in terms of the belonging experiences (see Chapter 5 and 6). In Chapter 7, in contrast to previous groups, the participants shared similar intersectional characteristics. The findings showed the significance of the motivation and temporality in approach to migration in experiencing transnational belonging. Moreover, the other categories such as education, length of stay, employment status did not differentiate the participants across groups.

Interestingly, the family status, which might have a strong impact in shaping belonging experiences as part of social networks, seemed to not differentiate the participants. In the literature, it is discussed that the age of children might impact on the migrants' decision to stay or return (White 2014*b*, Ryan et al. 2009, Ryan & Sales 2013), and could also decide about settlement (Favell 2011). However, the findings in this research showed that the age of children did not determine the participants' decision about return or stay. The findings were mainly shown in Chapter 5 and 6, because those groups has similar family status. The participants in Chapter 5 and 6, who were parents, seemed to not consider the age of children as the primary factor about the decision of migration. In both groups, the parents' decision about return included their consideration about the children's future, however both groups differently defined what comprises better future (e.g. living closer to grandparents in Chapter 5, or job opportunities in the UK in Chapter 6). Therefore, the age of children was not a decisive factor in some of the participants' decision to stay or return.

The parents' approach to migration appeared to influence the way they thought about their children's identification and belonging. The children might impact on the parents' social networks in the UK (Levrau et al. 2014, Koelet et al. 2017), but the age of children did not cause the parents' decision about stay or return. The findings in Chapter 5 showed that those participants (also returnees), who planned to return to Poland, had children in different age groups and they decided to return to Poland even if their children were in school age. The difference between the participants with children or without children was the timing of return. Those participants with children waited until summer holiday break that children could finish the school year, to return to Poland.

Finally, the politics of belonging includes the importance of social location, political and ethical values in creation belonging experiences (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*). My research showed that the participants pursued better life, which the participants defined differently according to their experiences and ambitions. The participants possessed their own values and ethics as the concept of politics of belonging shows, but for the participants, the values and ethics were not considered as significant in their belonging experiences. For example, only three participants mentioned their religious practices in their belonging experiences, whereas none of the participants mentioned political rights (e.g. voting). The participants did not attach importance to their political rights, as they lacked interest in political values (cf. Yuval-Davis 2011*a*). The experiences of belonging were shaped in relation to motivations of migration and assumption of time of migration, and the ethical and political values became secondary in the migration process.

8.3 The multi-dimensional experiences of transnational belonging

The findings showed that the participants experienced transnational belonging on various dimensions of belonging. While the experiences were dynamic and complex, it was possible to identify some similarities among the participants in the dimensions of belonging experiences such as identification, attachment, and membership. Those dimensions were expressed together and formed coherent narratives in the participants belonging experiences.

In identification, the participants could undoubtedly define who they are. The findings showed that the participants seemed to know who they were, and despite of the complexity of their belonging experiences they could relatively easily categorise their

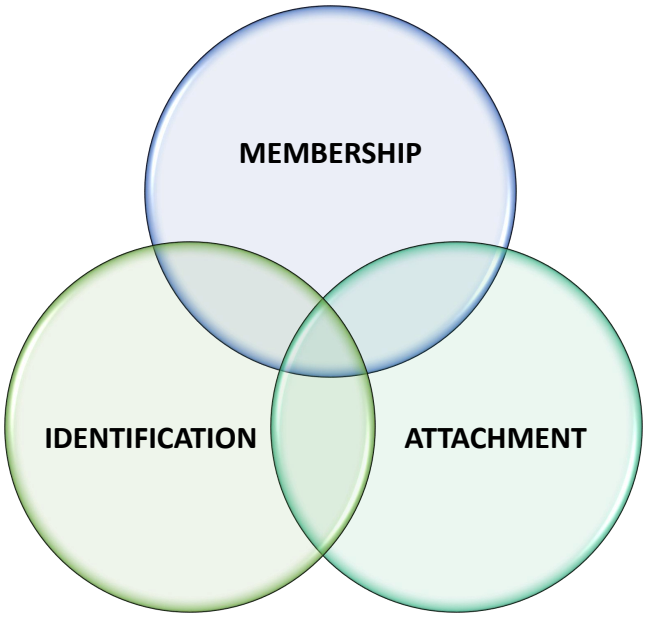


Figure 8-1: The dimensions of transnational belonging experiences

identification using national (e.g. Polish) or more abstract (e.g. European, global) labels. The participants' consideration of such labels could be seen as a quite stable experience, but they might widen or narrow the identification during migration course (cf. Weaver 2001). Moreover, the findings confirmed that the participants could change their identification (Ryan & D'Angelo 2018), because their identification was created over the course of life and migration could be a crucial factor in this process (Giddens 1991). The identities could become dual (Vertovec 2001), or hybrid (Bhabha 1994, 1996, Meredith 1998) in the process of migration. The important issue, recognised among the participants in this study, was children identification. Parents described their children identification as coherent with their own experiences of identification in each groups discussed in the different empirical chapters.

The coherence of the experiences appeared to be important in overlapping dimensions of belonging. The identification overlapped with attachment could be related to the place, which the participants considered as home (Ignatieff 2010), but all the participants possessed strong transnational social networks (Ryan 2018*a*) as part of their attachment dimensions experiences. The participants kept their social networks in Poland with different levels of intensity e.g. they remained in touch with relatives in Poland via new technologies (Vertovec 2004), or bought Polish products in the UK. Similarly, the participants might implicitly create their attachment by daily-life practices, so time which they spent abroad was not neutral for their attachment and belonging (Ryan

& D'Angelo 2018). However, they might be able to discover the implicitly developed attachment only when their life circumstances change e.g. they return to the country of origin and face double migration because they did not feel attached to the country of origin as they felt before they had migrated (White 2014*a*).

Finally, the findings showed that membership dimension was not limited only to experiences of citizenship, and the participants' also experienced social membership as part of their belonging experiences. Despite societal and political presumption of social tourism, the existing research shows that the participants came to the UK in pursuit of employment not benefits (Carmel & Sojka 2018, Marangozov et al. 2013). Similarly, none of the participants analysed in this study was focused on rights to have social benefits only, they rather appeared to have broader experience of civil and social rights during their time of migration. In my study, transnational civil rights were exercised mainly by buying and owning assets. The participants among all three groups attempted to search for the opportunity to buy property, however there were some differences between the participants among groups, which were mainly related to intersectionality such as financial capacity and the class positions of the participants. They exercised their social security rights transnationally in the country related to their identification and attachment. Moreover, the participants also possessed political rights, but these rights appeared to be lacking of importance for the participants' experiences of transnational belonging in the UK. For all the participants, social membership was present in their experiences of belonging as an important and coherent element jointly with all previously mentioned dimensions.

The dimensions used in this study did not limit the participants' experiences but showed the common and coherent set of understanding of experiences shaped by more (e.g. time and motivations) and less (intersectionality and transnationality) significant perspectives. Following the participants' narration and the identified dimensions, it was possible to create three forms the belonging experiences for the participants included in this research namely presentism, settlement, and fluidity. All three forms were created in a relation to the participants' approach to the stay in the UK because their migration experiences strongly impacted on their belonging.

8.3.1 Presentism as a form of transnational belonging experiences

In Chapter 5, the first group of participants was presented, and their form of experiences of belonging was named as a presentism. Presentism was related to the overall approach to the migration with the migrants staying only temporarily abroad so neither settled nor planning to settle in the UK. They anticipated that their migration to be ended at

a certain point in future by returning to their country of origin, and such expectation was strongly shaping their experiences of belonging among all three dimensions. The participants shared some similarities of experiences in the dimensions of identification, attachment, and membership, which enabled to cluster them in a distinguishable form of belonging experiences.

The Polish identification of participants discussed in Chapter 5 was significant in their belonging experiences. They clearly identified themselves as Polish and such a strong identification to the country of origin appeared to be a safe alternative for the participants in this group (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Maintenance of Polish identification was recognised as a necessary prerequisite to either dream or plan about returning to Poland in future.

The attachment was coherent with the participants' identification, as they felt attached to Polish families, friends, and their properties in Poland. The experiences of attachment could be noticed in their transnational social networks (Ryan 2018*a*). Their attachment related to social networks in Poland was strong because their immediate family remained in Poland, and they did not plan to relocate and reunify family in the UK. Their attachment to Poland was also seen in cherishing the myth of return (White 2014*a*), therefore they intentionally did not create attachment to the UK; it was rather utilitarian approach to the country of destination seen as a place, which provides them an opportunity to improve their life situation in Poland. However, the length of stay was often extended by the participants in this forms of belonging. The participants often spent this time among other Polish migrants (Nee & Sanders 2001, Koelet et al. 2017), (cf. Dominguez & Maya-Jariego 2008, Lubbers et al. 2010) and created imitation of their homeland, *second best* Poland in the UK.

Those belonging experiences appeared similarly in their membership experiences, the participants looked for coherence between all dimensions: identification, attachment, and membership. Therefore, they did not consider application for citizenship in the UK for themselves and for their children (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). This further supported the participants' tendency towards coherence in their experiences of belonging among all three dimensions. Additionally, the formal requirement for citizenship was at least 6 years of residency in the UK, if the participants were only temporary in the UK, they could not even consider applying for citizenship (Cinar 1994, Golden 2002).

The membership experiences were equally important as two other dimensions, however, the social membership experiences were shown as more complex in this group of participants. The participants' experiences were shaped by the challenges, which they faced

trying to understand their rights and justify, why they could claim social rights (child benefits, access to health care system, contributions to pension scheme). In contrast to membership, the experience of attachment and identification were less complex because they were absorbed by Poland and rooted in Polish affairs. They showed that social membership was considered by them as an important part of the migration experience. The participants discussed in Chapter 5, who stayed in the UK less than 4 months (e.g. seasonal workers), highlighted their lack of experience of social membership rights in the UK. At the same time, the participants, who stayed longer than 4 months, emphasised their utilitarian understanding of their social membership. The participants presented neither responsibilities nor gratitude to the UK (they felt not attached to the UK), because they highlighted their social membership rights based on their financial contribution to the UK by paying taxes. The participants perceived their contributions and access to the social security system as a bilateral exchange between the state and the migrants as workers (Favell 2008). The most common experience of social membership was exhibited by claiming child benefits, which however were not considered as social benefit Kennedy (2014*a*). My research showed that the participants did not want to claim social security benefits as they felt that this would put them in a subordinate position with respect to the state, while they strived for equality within the social security system and British society as such. Additionally, a risk of being in a subordinate position was unacceptable as they wanted to see themselves as free from civil responsibilities and duties owed to the UK and therefore at the liberty to return to the country of origin. Moreover, the attachment and identification to Poland presented by those participants overlapped with their approach to social membership in the context of the health care system by avoiding services provided by the NHS, whereas accessing the health care system in Poland (Duda-Mikulin 2013*a*). Furthermore, the participants who stayed longer in the UK, while still willing or dreaming about returning (White 2014*a*), wanted to use all available opportunities to port their British pension to Poland, and use the British pension in Poland. The portability of the British state pension to Poland rendered to the participants some level of security due to a presumption of a higher exchange rate between British Sterling Pound and the Polish złoty, therefore a prospect for higher pension in future. The participants' approach to pension showed their focus on acquiring the state rights to pension. They did not want to use their transnational rights to port their pension contributions between countries, but rather they wanted to port the UK pension to Poland.

The findings in presentism form of belonging experiences showed how significant for the participants were their Polish belonging experiences presented in three dimensions. The participants wanted to experience their belonging by having coherent experiences.

The Polish identification and attachment overlapped with their temporal plan to stay in the UK, and linked with their thinking of migration as economical to improve their future situation in Poland. It was significantly important in the consideration of the potential adjustment of the participants to the new society. The participants were diverse in terms of class as they had different educational backgrounds and financial resources, but they were not in an arduous financial situation as they possessed at least the resources to come and travel to Poland, and all of them were employed for some time.

8.3.2 Settlement as a form of transnational belonging experiences

The second group of the analysed participants was identified based on the similarities in their experiences among three dimensions. Firstly, the identification of the participants was defined as Polish in their narration, but the in-depth analyses showed that those experiences were linked with disappointment of lack of possibility to change the identification. These participants wished to be British, they hinted that they wanted to be seen as British citizens, but they seemed to not be able to change their identification, because they were aware that they were migrants in the UK. Their wish to be recognised as British was related to their plan to settle in the UK, but the society, they decided to live in, considered them as foreigners. Being British could help them to feel that they belong to the new society. They were sensitive to all information and comments from others about their identification and belonging. The comments and questions about their roots were recognised by the participants as stigmatisation of not being seen as *us* (Anderson 2006). They wanted to have a new, good life in the UK, better one that they had in Poland, and simultaneously they wanted to feel that they could identify and be identified with the place where they planned to live. In that light, some of the participants felt that they were not considered as British, which was challenging and difficult for them. Being a migrant was some-how seen as a barrier for them to feel that they could fully belong to the new society. Their position as migrants was seen by them as lower-class position. Those experiences could come from existing media discourse, which frequently showed migrants as *them* (Anderson 2013). What is more important, they felt recognised as non-British because of their physical appearance and their accent (Yuval-Davis 2011*b*). It was difficult for them to admit that they would probably always be seen as migrants (Anderson 2013). These experiences cross-cut by social categories excluding the participants from the society, therefore the existing labels, which classified them, seemed to be a barrier and in some sense, a form of oppression (Crenshaw 1989). The participants discussed in Chapter 6 appeared not to have the class position they wanted. The challenging experiences with own identification and barrier

to change their identity was projected on the participants' children. They projected the desired British identification on their children. They wanted to see that their children were more British than Polish. The children of the participants had often right to have British citizenship, and by growing in the UK, they often had British accent, therefore children might acquire the social position, which was different from their parents. For the participants, the children might be seen as part of the society, so being seen as *us* (Anderson 2013). Parents wanted their children to have life without stigmatisation. These participants were focused on their life in the UK, and they did not plan to return, even more, it was difficult for them to imagine that their children might live in Poland one day.

Following the participants' identification, their attachment experiences were coherent with identification, they were focused on the UK as a new environment. The participants seemed to realise their ambitions for financial improvement of their life. They wanted to find the place to grasp their new life project in the UK, so they craved a way to attach and fit into the new society. In some sense, they showed that they deserved to be seen as insiders/locals, and performed as good citizens (Anderson 2013). However, they positioned themselves in a disadvantage position to the British citizens. Their migrants' position was seen by the participants as a lower-class position which excluded them from the community (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*, Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012). These participants thought about Britishness as a desired status because based on it, they could be recognised as attached (Barbalet 1988). Their length of stay in the UK was significant for them, but appeared not to change their own perception of their own attachment. Even if they thought that they behaved almost like locals, they often had to face differences such as accent which identified them as outsiders. It was part of their gruelling experiences of belonging in this group. Moreover, some of the participants (4 participants among 21) were double returnees (White 2014*a*), which meant that they had already experienced return to their country of origin, where they discovered that their attachment and belonging was challenged. They discovered that they could not settle back in Poland after return from migration. They (*returned*) to the UK where they wanted to settle, and had the place where they could belong and be attached (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016).

The participants discussed in this group had some strong similarities with the previous form of belonging experience – presentism. They maintained some transnational social networks, which showed their transnational attachment. However, they differently prioritised their social networks as they maintained the remaining ties only with the closest family. They visited their closest social networks during their occasional visits

to Poland (Ryan 2018*a*) which were rare e.g. less than once a year. They were confident that they did not need to visit Poland often, and it was rather related to special occasions in their extended family e.g. wedding or first communion, and not holidays. Moreover, it was more likely that they engaged their family from Poland to their life in the UK e.g. the flying grandmothers, who took care of grandchildren, or the members of the family reunited in the UK (Zontini 2004, Ryan et al. 2009, Nesteruk & Marks 2009). Also, these participants seemed to distance themselves from other Polish migrants in the UK due to the lack of trust in them (Ryan 2010). Some of the participants in these forms of belonging with their wished to be seen as *us* (Anderson 2013) to fit into the society by distancing from ethnic minorities including Polish. The class position as the migrants seemed to classify them in lower position, so they wanted to be seen as attached to a more privileged group (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983, Crenshaw 1989, Collins 2009, Anthias 2012), by having non-Polish friends.

The participants discussed in Chapter 6 seemed to pay more attention to the possession of a British passport, which was linked with their identification and attachment experiences. However, becoming a British citizen by naturalization did not change how they were recognised and categorised in British society. For some of the participants, British citizenship were more important because having British citizenship helped them not to stand out from other members of the family, who were British-born, e.g. when the participants was married to British citizens and had children who already had British citizenship. The participants, who did not have British family members in their closest family, considered applying for British citizenship because it might increase their chance of having the opportunity to stay permanently in the UK. While British citizenship was not a requirement to stay permanently because they had EU citizenship rights, the migrants' feeling was that by having British citizenship they could feel more attached to the UK. For some of the participants, the results of the Brexit referendum increased the need for a higher level of security in the form of official documents such as a permanent residence document certifying their right of permanent residence. All participants, who had children in this group, appeared to project their desire of British identification on their children. They also looked for coherence experiences for themselves and their children's belonging experiences, so they could apply for British citizenship for themselves and their families. Being formally British became more problematised for the participants, who wanted to stay permanently, as they experienced financial barriers to acquire their new citizenship. They might even not consider to apply for a British passport because they did not have a chance to be in this privileged position to have financial capacity to be considered as a formal member of the society (Crenshaw 1989).

The form of settlement was found also in the participants' experiences in accessing the health care system. The participants seemed to trust the health care system in the UK, with the only exception of grandmothers, who were attached to the Polish health care system and travelled to Poland for scheduled health check-ups. The other participants in this group tended to use Polish health care system occasionally when they visited Poland (Duda-Mikulin 2013*b*), but in daily life, they used the NHS (cf. Cook et al. 2012). The migrants' daily life was centred on the UK, therefore they did not consider themselves to be attached to the health care system in country other than where they settled. In this group, thinking about the future and pension was less apparent in their narration because they were aware of their state pension rights acquired by their work contribution in the UK. They relied on their social membership rights in the UK, and they did not think or consider the portability of social rights. They wanted to use their social membership available in the UK, which meant that they also focused on the national pension scheme contribution only as their future was linked with the UK. For the participants, who struggled to find regular employment, thinking and planning about the future became unimaginable (cf. Ignatieff 2010, Hage 2012). The participants were diverse in terms of the class position including homeless, unemployed, employed. The financial position influenced their opportunities and seemed to be excluded from the social secure system, which might secure their retirement (Eade et al. 2006).

8.3.3 Fluidity as a form of transnational belonging experiences

The last group of participants presented in this study, a form of the experiences of belonging was named as fluidity. The patterns, which were identified among the participants presented in Chapter 7, were the participants who would like not to use the identify labels. However, they experienced stigmatisation because the process of identification was experienced by the participants based on social judgement, where people often wanted to label others by asking them about the identification e.g. *Where are you from?*. The participants did not want to use narrow (e.g. national) categories of identification, dual, or hybrid identification because they felt that they were neither British nor Polish. The society intensified their feeling of otherness because they felt that in the society, they were recognised and classified as the migrants (Golden 2002), similarly to the group discussed in Chapter 6. But these participants distanced themselves from any categories, which were part of the identification process in previous groups of the participants, and as a result, they did not identify themselves as Polish or British. Those participants produced their own type of identification. They identified themselves as European or global migrants, and linked the identification with their global nature of thinking about their career without any limitation such as language, country,

and passport. They desired to be categorised neither as migrants nor Polish, and this was possible because of their class privilege based on maintaining professional identity and status. The participants might be considered as the migrants, who possessed hybrid identity as bridge between spaces (in-betweenness) (Bhabha 1994, Friedman & Thiel 2012). However, they seemed not to experience their identity as transnational so identity between two or more spaces. Their experiences of identification seemed to go beyond binary and fixed understanding, so their experiences might have elements of hybridity, which was evaluated as part of dynamic process (Rutherford 1990, Meredith 1998). They identified themselves in broader, more abstract terms of identification to avoid stereotypic thinking and stigmatisation. They wanted to exercise their social position as professionals, while other categories added to them by others seemed to be a form of oppression (Crenshaw 1989). For example, being seen as Polish migrants was for them a limitation and classified them in lower social position. Therefore, the participants in fluidity form of belonging distanced themselves also from other Polish migrants (Ryan 2010), and they did not feel to be part of Polish community. The participants' identification in this group could also be created in relation to their family status, they often did not have children yet, which could impact the process of identification (Favell 2011). In this group, there was only one participant with an adult child. This participant gave an idea on how the participants in fluid form of belonging could think and experience their children's identification. The parent projected their self-identification onto their child. The identification of the child was defined in a similar way as the participant's own identification. Interestingly, considering the participant's approach to child identification, it seemed to be consistent with the political discourse, which existed in Poland. Research on political discourse of belonging showed that the children of Polish migrants are perceived by Polish policy makers as foreigners and non-belonging to Poland (Carmel & Sojka 2018, Carmel et al. 2019).

The fluid experiences of identification were linked with their attachment experiences. The participants were attached to their career and their attachment and migration were expressed as a product of aspiration and professional biography. There was not strong emotional attachment to the place where they live because they were more flexible in their thinking of the future place of living. However, the participants expressed their interest in planning future responsibilities for ageing parents in Poland (Ryan et al. 2009, Erdal & Ezzati 2015). They maintained their transnational social networks with ageing parents but being in touch with parents in Poland meant to contact them using mainly new technologies (Vertovec 1999). They did not visit Poland often, which was similar to the group from Chapter 6, but the participants discussed in Chapter 7 were in touch with their parents only, and they did not keep any other social networks

in Poland. Some of the participants expressed their attachment to ageing parents as a declaration for future, but in comparison to other previously identified forms of belonging experiences, the professional participants express strongly the importance and their responsibility for parents. This significantly stronger presence of attachment to parents by the professional participants could be explained by their lack of children and closest family in the UK in comparison to the participants in other groups discussed in Chapter 5 and 6. Moreover, the professional participants could show their class position because they could consider returning to Poland because they might find a job there, or they possessed financial resources, which they could use to support their ageing parents if it was necessary (Yuval-Davis et al. 2005).

The participants created a desire of their class position by their professional employment (Crenshaw 1989, Ryan 2010). Some of the participants distanced themselves from other Polish migrants after they met other migrants. They experienced difficulties in becoming involved in Polish community because they did not have a lot in common and they presented different values. Although they defined their attachment to Poland by buying Polish products and cooking Polish meals similarly as in the previous forms, they seemed to remain less emotionally attached to the Polish practices (e.g. Christmas and Easter traditions). Moreover, the participants experienced the secularisation process by distancing themselves from the Polish traditions related to religious practices.

The lack of strong specification in the approach of the participants in this group to attachment and identification was also seen in experiences of membership. For the participants discussed in Chapter 7, the formal membership was understood in a more abstract way, they would prefer to possess the European Union passport if available, not a citizenship of one of the EU countries. They seemed to not need citizenship for their experiences of belonging and feeling secure (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). They personally did not identify themselves based on these narrow categories related to the country, but they seemed to consider citizenship in utilitarian manner. It meant that they considered possessing it if a British passport could be used to travel without any limitations to the USA. They wanted to increase their opportunities. However, this might change, because from November 2019 Polish citizens do not have to apply for a visa to travel to the USA for 90 days. Therefore, the only practical argument, which seemed to be important for the professional participants, became less relevant. Furthermore, the participants with fluid experiences of belonging seemed to shape their approach to membership in the intersectional perspective. They had choices and opportunities which they might use to fulfil their aspiration and ambitions.

The participants discussed in Chapter 7 experienced social membership by partially

distancing themselves and showing independence from the state. They seemed to desire this privilege to position themselves in higher class to have choice (Crenshaw 1989). Their financial position excluded them from being potential claimants of the social benefits due to the mean-tested nature of social benefits in the UK (Carmel et al. 2015*a*), which in practice meant that the professional participants were frequently ineligible to benefit financially from social membership rights. However, they did not distance themselves totally from their social membership but they wanted to have a choice. Thus, they planned to have the UK state pension (similarly on a national level acquired after ten years of employment in the UK), and simultaneously they invested (assets, stock) their savings to secure their future (Ignatieff 2010, Hage 2012). Moreover, they were knowledgeable about health care in the UK and in Poland, but for them, the quality and speed of receiving health services were important (Duda-Mikulin 2013*a*), therefore they travelled to Poland to access the private health care system if they could avoid queues (Cook et al. 2012).

The comparison between forms of experiences belonging by the participants in all three dimensions are presented in Fig. 8-2.

	PRESENTISM	SETTLEMENT	FLUIDITY
Identification	• Polish • Children were Polish	• Polish but wanted to be seen as British • Experience of being recognised as migrants in the UK • Children were British	• European or global
Attachment	• To Poland (home, family, friends), • To the 'second best' Poland which they created in the UK	• To home which they created in the UK • Decreased significance of social networks in Poland	• To career and work • To ageing parents in Poland (feeling responsibility for them)
Social membership	• Rights based on contributions • Bilateral need between migrants and the state	• Subordination to the state • Looking for justification of their social membership rights (residency, children, and needs)	• Distance to social membership • Looking for additional security (assets, investments)

Figure 8-2: The comparisons of the forms of belonging by the dimensions.

8.3.4 Temporality, intersectionality, and transnationalism: understanding forms of transnational belonging in context

The migration experiences of the participants across all dimensions comprised the experiences of belonging, but it was impossible to identify the causality of creation based on the data which were collected. This research showed rather factors, which impacted the participants' experiences of belonging. Such factors shaping the participants' experiences helped to identify similarities and differences to create the forms of belonging experiences.

The findings presented in the empirical chapters showed cross-cutting social categories, therefore the intersectionality was applied in analysing interviews in all groups of participants. Based on my findings, I argued that the class factor was important in the analyses but class itself was not sufficient to differentiate the experiences of belonging among all participants. In fluidity form of belonging, the participants were in a similar class position, they were more consistent based on class category. They were highly skilled migrants, and their motivations were clearly related to their ambitions in the professional field. They did not experience a de-skilling process in their migration experience (Favell 2011). Moreover, they possessed financial resources to keep the opportunities available to them to be mobile and to access a private health care system in the place, which they preferred. Finally, they invested their savings to secure their future and to be able to support their ageing parents if this was needed. They could be placed in the context of class as the middle-class migrants. They valued power of choice, and they had resources to make decisions depending on their preferences. Additionally, the participants with fluidity experiences of belonging were significantly more coherent in their class position, than the participants, who represented presentism and settlement forms of belonging.

In presentism and settlement forms of belonging, the class of the participants were mixed as their personal and socio-economic characteristics were diverse including education, employment, family, and financial resources. Thus, the social class seemed not to determine their experiences, but had impact on their narration and available choices. The ways that the participants described themselves were different, for example, the participants who wanted to settle in the UK permanently (settlement) present their story differently to the participants whose stay was temporary (presentism). The narration of the participants, who presented settlement form of belonging, showed that they positioned themselves in a worse financial situation. They paid more attention to the cost of living and expenditure e.g. for a British passport, which they could not afford. I argued that the participants, who presented settlement form of belonging, could have different experiences of the cost of living than the participants, who experienced presentism forms of belonging, because their perspective on currency value seemed to be different. The settled participants earned and spent money in Pound Sterling, while the temporary present participants earned in Pound Sterling but they often exchanged money into Polish złoty. Moreover, the length of the stay in the UK might matter for the cost of living experiences. The participants with shorter stays in the UK could not have enough time to build their own financial security, because they often had to invest more at the beginning of migration (travel, accommodation, deposit, etc.). After longer period of time, the migrants might have savings because they had a regular salary and

they did not have so much spending as they might have at the beginning of the migration process. The findings show that the participants might have similar difficulties in Poland e.g. debts, but they had different the motivations of their migration and assumption of the time, which they wanted to stay in the UK. Therefore they experienced belonging in a distinct way, and they talked differently about their financial situation. The participants' approach to the migration impacted their way of presenting their situation, and the way that they experienced social membership. Those, who wanted to return, did not want to be subordinated to the UK state, because they might feel that by claiming social benefits, they will be depending on the state, hence affecting their plan of returning to Poland. The participants, who wanted to stay permanently, did not have this dilemma, because they wanted to exercise social membership in the UK, which in turn, could also increase their security. Based on the subjective experiences, the participants, who wanted to stay in the UK, saw their situation in Poland in a negative way. But those who migrated temporarily, thought about their situation in Poland more positively. All things considered, the motivation of migration and assumed time frame of migration had an effect on their experiences.

Moreover, there were also differences between the participants' subjectively defined and experienced temporariness. For example, the participants might stay 10 years and still emphasise temporality of their stay in the UK. Their perspective might have changed but it was a complex and multidimensional process. The participants among all three groups seemed to have not fixed experiences but they also searched for coherence and a sense of stability, which helped them to shape their experiences of belonging. However, my finding showed that experiences of time were not experienced linearly (Erdal & Ezzati 2015), the participants did not have to stay longer time in the UK to discover the plan to stay forever in the UK. They might create their plan of length of staying in the UK before their migration. The participants with the fluid form of belonging were focused on career development. However, they were less likely to consider a return to Poland but rather move to another English-speaking country (Eade et al. 2006, Favell 2011).

Furthermore, the temporal perspective was also related to the participants' motivation, which also differed among the participants analysed in empirical chapters. Financial motivation was found to be different between the participants presented presentism and settlement form of belonging (Ryan et al. 2009). In the first form (presentism), most of the participants justified their migration based on financial motivation, which helped them to have a better life in Poland. The participants in the second group (settlement), highlighted their financial motivation with focused on better life in the UK. Finally, in

fluidity form of belonging experiences, the participants' motivation for migration was focused on their professional ambitions, which helped them build a better life but from class perspective.

The transnational perspective was also a factor, which differentiate the participants between forms and helped to identify the similarities between participants to create the forms of belonging experiences. The transnational practices (Schiller et al. 1992*b*, Levitt 2004) were presented among all the participants but the intensification and focus was put differently in relation to the forms of belonging experiences. In presentism form, the participants had strong transnational social networks with Polish family and friends in Poland. They also often travelled to Poland and mainly accessed the health care system in Poland. They seemed to build their life oriented on Poland, but in practice it was more as life *in-between* (Bhabha 1994). In settlement form, the participants also maintained their transnational social networks in Poland, but they decimated them to the closest family members and they also limited their visits in Poland (Ryan 2016). The transnational health care practices were limited and some of the participants still accessed the health care system in Poland e.g. grandmothers (Zontini 2004, Nesteruk & Marks 2009). Finally, in fluidity form of belonging experiences, the participants had more global perspective, they mainly showed one strong pattern of transnational social networks and practises, which was related to their ageing parents (Yuval-Davis et al. 2005, Ryan et al. 2009, Erdal & Ezzati 2015). Their friends and colleagues in the UK were either British or migrants from other countries.

	PRESENTISM	SETTLEMENT	FLUIDITY
Time	Temporary	Permanent	Fluid
Motivation	Employment – earning money for the purpose (debts, house, study)	Employment - lack of opportunities in Poland, Better life quality (lack of debts, stable employment and income)	Career development
Transnationalism	Transnational practices - focused on Poland (close family members in Poland)	Transnational social networks (close family members in the UK, extended family members in Poland)	Transnational approach to career, Contact with parents in Poland
Intersectionality	Class position based on their higher position in Poland as migrants in the UK (better financial situation, better opportunities)	Lower class position as migrants because of public discourse in the UK	Middle class professionals

Figure 8-3: The comparisons of the perspectives by the forms of belonging.

8.4 Conclusion

By presenting the existing literature and findings of this research, it was possible to discuss the complexity and multidimensionality of the experiences of belonging. The

motivations of migration and length of stay were present as significant perspectives in the creation of the belonging, but still did not explain causality of the belonging experiences. Intersectionality and transnationalism added the important perspective to the analysis by presenting the dynamics of the empirical data. The research findings showed also that the belonging experiences were multidimensional, three dimensions overlapped and created coherent experiences for the participants. Each dimension was equally important and was a part of the experience. Finally, by comparing the research findings from each group discussed in the empirical chapters, it was possible to show the sets of characteristics of the belonging experiences, which were put together into the forms of experiences of the participants. My contribution with reflections, implication, and future research are presented in conclusion Chapter 9.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Research overview

The purpose of this research was to explore the Polish migrants' experiences of transnational belonging in the UK. By following the research objectives, I investigated diverse experiences of transnational belonging and social citizenship of Polish migrants in the UK participating in this study. The analyses in this thesis identified the multidimensionality and the complexity of the participants' transnational belonging experiences. The analysis showed three dimensions, which were constructing the participants' experiences. The dimensions, which comprised the experiences of belonging, were as follows: identification, attachment, and social membership. Those dimensions overlapped and constructed dynamic and coherent experiences of belonging. Moreover, clustering around those dimensions facilitated identification and creation of the three distinctive forms of the experiences of belonging namely: presentism, settlement, and fluidity. Those forms of transnational belonging were connected to the factors related to socio-economic position and migration biography, which were also important in shaping those experiences.

9.2 Theoretical contributions

The main conceptual contribution of this work was an in-depth synthesis of the existing concepts related to transnational belonging, and so creating a novel approach to the understanding of belonging. I argued that belonging comprises three main dimensions i.e. identification, attachment, and membership. Following the existing concepts such as social embedding and anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, Ryan 2018*a*), the anal-

yses of the data confirmed that social networks played a significant role in the creation of attachment, similarly as feeling secure and safe. The findings presented in this thesis suggested that the experiences of belonging should be considered as a more comprehensive concept. This work advocated to consider that the notion of the belonging experiences was shaped by the experiences in three dimensions, which included attachment, identification, and membership. The membership was not seen only as part of footholds but as a separate and more complex dimension, which included the experiences of citizenship, and social security system i.e. pondering about future security and health. The research also showed some existing patterns and clusters of the experiences of the participants, which allowed me to present forms of transnational belonging experiences. The dimensions were not experienced separately by the participants, but rather the belonging experiences were created in the three dimensions, which overlapped each other. The relations between the dimensions were dynamic, and corresponded to individuals, collectives, and institutions levels of the experiences of belonging. The experiences of belonging were analysed in light of transnational perspective (Schiller et al. 1995).

Furthermore, the findings added the important differentiation for the concept of politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*). Firstly, decoupling of identification and attachment was an essential step to recognise and name the participants' experiences. Needless to say, those two dimensions were overlapping, however they were markedly not interchangeable. Attachment is differentiated and negotiated, therefore the attachment could be shaped in relation to specific situations and place (Ryan 2018*a*). Identification is created in relation to the individual and the society where social stability and security of the individuals in the new society become significant (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016). Consequently the subtle nuances in the experiences of belonging could be missed if those dimensions were not separated. In particular, such decoupling is enabled to show the importance of coherence between identification, attachment, and membership in the experiences of the participants. For example, a form of presentism experiences demonstrated the need for coherence in all dimensions of participants' experiences. The participants manifested their Polish identity overlapping with their Polish attachment by having Polish social networks, and finally focusing on Polish citizenship and transferring social security rights to Poland (see Chapter 5). Similarly, the need for coherence was presented also in the other discussed groups of the participants. These findings showed that the dimensions were not independent in the participants' experiences, and the experiences overlapped and created the coherent belonging narration. There were identified patterns in participants' experiences, which overlapped and showed the similarities and differences between groups of participants. Secondly, the concept of politics

of belonging identified the importance of social location in the experiences of belonging which was confirmed in the findings, however not all categories identified by Yuval-Davis (2011*a*) were relevant for the Polish participants analysed in this thesis. The categories presented in the participants' experiences of belonging were as follows: gender, family status, number and age of children, similarly as class category. Those categories were identified in analyses and were present in all forms of belonging experiences.

The findings confirmed that the belonging experiences were shaped by the different factors and experiences. The factors motivation of migration, length of stay, transnationalism, and intersectionality helped to show the complexity and dynamism of the characteristics of the forms of belonging experiences. It might be important to explore further the relationship between motivation, temporal orientation of the participants, and different dimensions of belonging. The motivation and temporary approach (length of stay) was constructive in differentiation of the groups of the participants. Based on the experienced dimensions, and similarities and differences of the experiences, it was possible to identify the forms of experienced belonging. The experiences were dynamic, so for example, the element originally important as the reason of the migration might change over time. The participants, who decided to migrate, had migration objectives in mind, which gave the chance to define time, which they wanted to spend abroad. Those motivations overlapped also with the participants openness on change of the society and country. However, the participants could not have predicted how much time they need they could adjust to the new place, so how flexible they were in their thinking of themselves and their identification.

The participants migrated mainly to improve their financial situation. Therefore, it might be important to explore the detailed financial situation in Poland, which the participants experienced prior to migration. Simultaneously, it might be important to identify the class status of the participants in Poland. The class position was important, however it was concluded that the class position did not determine the belonging experiences. An interesting extension of the research would be to identify the Polish migrants' class positions before their migration, which might help to differentiate their actual social position and the existent need of financial improvement. In particular, this research confirmed that the participants had different financial needs, roughly divided in two broad categories i.e. professional ambitions, or need of money to survive. Some of the participants, who planned to return to Poland (see Chapter 5), could be identified as participants with some financial resources or seeing future opportunities in Poland. They still considered their return, while the participants discussed in Chapter 6 did not consider return. This could be related to their financial situation and class position, but

it also should be considered that there might be more complex situations which caused settlement in the UK. Moreover, the exploration of the class position might allow us to identify the causal relationship between multi-dimensional experiences of belonging and the motivation of migration.

Finally, the findings presented the three forms of belonging, which were not fixed and the participants might change their forms of belonging experiences. In particular, the findings presented the cases of the double returnees, which changed their presentism form to settlement form of belonging. The potential longitudinal study in the future might allow us to identify other transitions between the proposed forms of belonging or identify new forms of belonging, especially considering the current political situation in the UK related to the post Brexit referendum developments or to the global economic situation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. It is speculated here that there could be a stronger division between those participants, who felt that they belong to Poland or the UK, because Brexit gave the impression of division within the society (national level) and between countries (transnational level). The participants could feel that they should decide about the future plans and choose one place to live. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic caused another wave of challenges for transnational migration. The imposed strict travel restrictions limited possibly to travel freely, while the regular visits were deemed as significant for participants discussed in Chapter 5. Those participants regularly visited their friends and family in Poland, thus experiencing barriers in personal contact due to COVID-19 pandemic could impact how they experienced belonging as this explicitly influenced their daily life, and more implicitly their feeling safe and secure.

Finally, the findings in this thesis showed that the experiences of belonging did not strengthen with the extended length of stay. Those findings raised a challenge that the experiences of belonging could not be understood only in the light of the length of stay. The findings confirm that the experiences of belonging are complex, dynamic, and cannot be treated linearly based on the length of stay. The length of stay was important for some of the migrants, but did not differentiate the participants' experiences in relation to their belonging. In fact, the belonging was negotiated by the participants' decisions about migration course (plan to return in Chapter 5, settlement in Chapter 6, or career opportunities in Chapter 7). Another interesting aspect of the length of stay was its legal perspective. The length of stay divided the participants from those who were and were not eligible to access social membership and citizenship. The participants might use the social security resources provided by the authorities or institutions if they spent enough time in the UK, but it did not determine their decision about identification,

attachment, and membership. The rights to access social security system did not shape their overall belonging experiences, because the participants used their social rights if they felt that it was consistent with their sense of belonging. Additionally, the participants would not construct their belongings if they were forced to do it by regulations and formal requirements but rather they made their own decisions about identification, attachment, and membership.

9.2.1 Methodological reflections

In the research, there were 48 participants diverse in terms of their experiences, gender, age, and class. 7 additional, non migrant participants were significant others of the participants, but they were interviewed as the questions of how family members and friends of the participants experienced their belonging appeared during the analyses. However the interviews were not included in the main findings, because the significant other of the participants did not facilitate the understanding of the individual migrants' experiences. The significant others emphasised that their family members, who were migrants, belonged to the UK, and they would not return. They seemed to assume that they did not have any reason to return to Poland because the migrants' life was more prosperous in the UK. This was not consistent with the individual experiences of the participants included in groups (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7). Those findings showed that, from a significant others' perspective, transnational migration was seen only as an advantage, but the significant others lacked in-depth understanding of actual migrants' experiences of belonging. Travelling and living abroad for those who never experienced it (the significant others) was seen as only a positive experience in contrast to life course in Poland. This also showed that the participants (the migrants in the UK) were often not understood by those *left behind* (Anderson 2013). The significant other did not empathise with the migrant participants why they missed Poland, and why they wanted to return. Thus, the migrant participants could not receive appropriate support because there was a misunderstanding between migrants/returnees and non-migrants. The interviews of the significant others were important to shed light on the challenges, which the participants (migrants) had to face when they plan to return and when they look for emotional support. They could experience lack of support from their significant others in Poland after the first return. Such observation provided some insights why some of the participants changed their form of belonging i.e. decided to double return (White 2014*a*).

To answer the research questions and research objectives, I used grounded theory for collecting and analysing data (see Chapter 4). The existing research on participants'

experiences of belonging and social citizenship had been scant, grounded theory was therefore the most suitable method to use in the research. Grounded theory used for the research allowed me to evaluate thoroughly the research question and objectives.

On the one hand, in relation to the chosen method, I identified the following advantages. Firstly, the unstructured interviews provided the possibility to collect rich data following the participants' experiences. Moreover, following the data was also possible because collecting and analysing happened simultaneously. Secondly, I was involved in two projects simultaneously (TRANSWEL and PhD), which gave me the opportunity to look at the data from two different perspectives. My experience of being surprised because of the collected data was related to the TRANSWEL project as it allowed me to identify my presumptions of the experience of belonging and participants' experiences included in this research. It is worth noting that being surprised during one's own research seemed to be important for the researcher, because then the analysis and findings come from the data not from the researcher, who may assume (also unconsciously) a way of interpretation based on his own personal beliefs or experiences. I was open to the participants' experiences and the interviews showed me how significant the belonging was for the participants, and how often it was present in their narration. This showed me that experiences of belonging had a particular meaning for participants, they were often aware of their need or lack of belonging, and social citizenship was displayed in their experiences of belonging.

On the other hand, the process of the research possessed some challenges due to combining two research projects with different research questions. The division of work was required to think of two research questions and of two purposes of the research. The challenges were especially noticeable during the interview process, because it required asking questions, and listening so carefully to be able to ask more precise questions for both projects, related to the stories told by the participants. Thus, I had to select the questions and had to be sensitive to the details presented by the participants. What is more, asking too many questions could lead to the interviews becoming too long, therefore the participants might be bored or tired during the interview. I, as the researcher, could also be tired and not be focussed on what was essential for collecting quality interviews. Those challenges might be problematic and overwhelmed with social security system data; it could focus on the data which was not so relevant for the belonging experiences. To be sure about the data and my analyses I did more interviews only for my PhD and it gave me confidence that the balance in the collected data was achieved. The topic of the social security system appeared significantly in all collected interviews and produced the quality data to analyse.

9.3 Empirical contributions

In this thesis, my empirical findings contributed to the broader migration research. The experiences of the participants in this research could also shed light on the experiences of Polish migrants in other part of the UK, other EU migrants in the UK, and Polish migrants in other EU countries.

Firstly, my findings showed that the significant factor, which impacted the experiences of transnational belonging, was the participants' assumption of time, which they planned to stay in the UK, and the detailed motivation why they migrated. The temporal perspective was understood as an idea, which the participants might have before the migration or soon after arrival to the country of destination.

The existing literature discussed that some of the Polish migrants come with a clear plan about the length of stay in the UK, but then they could extend their stay. Therefore, the migrants planning was rather an ongoing process (Ryan & D'Angelo 2018)as the participants could change their approach to migration plans. In the analysed data, time planned and spent in the UK was significantly present in their experiences of belonging. Moreover, combining two factors (motivation and time) with other perspectives of transnationalism and intersectionality allowed me to differentiate the participants' experiences of transnational belonging. The initial assumption of time frame and motivation might change over course of migration and thus it might impact the participants' thinking of their belonging. The participants, negotiating their migration by asking themselves why they were in the UK and how long they wanted to stay, would change also their thinking of identification, attachment, and membership in a longer perspective. This was because the participants looked for coherence in their experiences of belonging so revision of one perspective and in one dimension could impact on other dimensions.

The temporal orientation could be important in the consideration of experiences of belonging for other migrants in the UK and Polish migrants in other EU countries. I claimed that the forms of experiences of belonging in the participants' experiences might also be present in other migrant groups from the European Union, where there similar patterns of labour migration were present e.g. Hungarian, Bulgarian, Romanian migrants in the UK. More general, the findings might be applied for the EU citizens, who can exercise their free movement rights. The free movers in the EU have been considered as white European (McDowell 2009) but the free movement is also ethnicised in recent years, in which East European is posed in contrast to Western European. Therefore, the experiences of transnational belonging and social citizenship might be

different between free movers in the EU. Moreover, I argued that the experiences of transnational belonging were linked with the time frame and motivation of migration, but distance between country of origin and destination could also be important. Easy and cheap travel options between EU countries forged opportunities for the migrants to use of their transnational rights and shaped their transnational belonging experiences. Furthermore, the empirical findings contribute to the discussion on the notion of good citizens and whiteness, since white Polish migrants also experienced being treated as foreign in the UK. What is more, in public discourse, the desired migrants have not been presented any longer as white European. The migrants from Central and Eastern European countries have not been perceived as good citizens because they were low-skilled they did not share the same values (Anderson 2013, Kofman 2013).

My findings contributed to the discussion about linearity of the migration process, which could end with belonging to the new place. The experiences of linear process of belonging have been experienced only by some of the participants. Most of the belonging experiences were more diverse and the belonging itself could not be captured by a linear model. The experiences of the presented participants might show possible processes, which could also undergo for other migrants in the EU, for whom the temporal orientation in a relation to motivation played a dominant role. The experiences of belonging were identified as complex and dynamic with the possibility to change over time, and importantly the experiences of belonging touched deeply essential aspects of the participants' life, which was related to the sense of security and stability.

Secondly, I contributed to the empirical discussion of the migrant belonging experiences in relation to the family situation. The existing literature highlighted the importance of children in the shaping of belonging (Grzymała-Moszczyńska 2014). My findings highlighted the significance of the parents' identification, attachment, and membership approach in creation of children's belonging. The age of children did not determine the parents' forms of belonging experiences, the parents rather followed their own belonging experiences to construct the narration about their children's identification and attachment, and membership. Furthermore, the forms of belonging showed the difference in justification of participants rights (also social rights). The participants, who were parents depending on their own belonging experiences, justified their rights based on the child's place of birth. It showed that own, personal identification for parents was curtailed in their thinking about their and their family's future.

Based on the findings, the experiences of social citizenship were shown as an important dimension for experiences of belonging by the participants. The experiences of social membership were mainly on institutional level, the participants experienced their

membership in relation to their rights, requirements, obligation, and political and public discourse in the country of destination. The findings confirmed that membership dimensions were part of overlapped experiences on three dimensions (including identification and attachment). What is more, the empirical findings were differentiated in terms of intersectionality (e.g. class, gender, age, family situation, life stage), but the intersectionality did not determine the participants' experiences of belonging. This stays in contrast to discussion on the politics of belonging, where the social locations have significant role in shaping the belonging experiences (Yuval-Davis 2011*a*).

My findings also contributed to the discussion about the class understanding of the social security system. The idea of a social system, which supports citizens and migrants, was highly stigmatised amongst the participants. The shame, to claim and publicly admit to exercise social rights, shows that public discourse about social tourism played an important role in the perception of the social benefits by the migrants. Those findings were related also to life aspirations existing among all the participants. For most of the participants, claiming benefits, mainly in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7, would prove that they did not achieve their migration objectives e.g. better life. The findings showed a hostile environment for the migrants, who did not feel the desire to access social security rights. Therefore, we cannot talk about equal EU rights for all EU citizens.

The findings showed, to some extend, the challenges, which might be faced during and after Brexit by increasing uncertainty of the participants, especially for those, who were in the process of considering their future plans. The governments seemed to show that the EU migrants' rights would be secured, but the lack of clear information of the process and deal between EU and the UK could further increase the participants' precariousness. Some of EU migrants, including Polish, were looking for the same reassurance and security to continue their lives in the UK. As Financial Times reported, there were the EU migrants, who wanted to have a *stamp* in the passport on border control to prove that they entered the UK before the first possible Brexit date, 31 October 2019 (Warrell 2019). Due to lack of clarity in UK Government's post-Brexit offer to EU citizens, the EU migrants were pushed to search for some assurance, which could put them in more privileged position to stay in the UK after Brexit. The research conduced after Brexit showed that the existing patterns of belonging were disrupted by the Brexit referendum, and drag the migrants to rethink about their belonging (Cassidy et al. 2018).

9.4 Policy implications

The findings of this thesis showed some important policy implications.

Welfare tourism. The findings showed undoubtedly that the participants' motivation was linked with employment opportunities and not welfare tourism. The participants were focused to find a job because, in their perception, only hard work could increase their chances to pursue their dreams and to realise their financial or professional ambitions. The participants, who migrated because they dreamed of a better life quality (see Chapter 6), in fact migrated because they believed they would have more employment opportunities or have more secure employment environment. They filled the labour market gaps for low paid jobs in the UK (Donaghey & Teague 2006, Dwyer 2010, Cook et al. 2012), often experiencing de-skilling process. The findings confirmed the participants' focus on employment, which also precluded the social support purposes (e.g. social tourism) of the migration (see Chapter 2) and (Kvist 2004). This stays in contrast with the presumptions about the migration for the social benefits purpose existing in public and political discourses (see Chapter 2, (Carrera 2005, McDowell 2009, Carmel & Sojka 2018)). The policy about migration should not be created based on stereotypes, as it may cause a hostile environment for the migrants in the UK. Creating or forging such stereotypes affected the participants' experiences of the social membership, which was constituted part of their belonging experiences. The participants experienced their social citizenship rights by emphasising their responsibility to work before they could use their social rights.

Moreover, the findings showed the participants' approach to their UK state pension, leading to the conclusion that the participants preferred to receive UK state pension. The basic Polish state pension was regarded as low and often not enough to survive on, while the British basic state pension was imagined as higher mostly due to the higher exchange rate of currency. However, the participants often did not take care of all formalities to secure their rights to British state pensions. Therefore, the participants might face many complications to receive the UK state pension in the future. Additionally, the findings showed that the participants preferred to acquire the state pension and did not rely on the European Union regulations to port their contributions. It could be caused by their lack of knowledge, poor understanding of the EU regulation, or the lack of trust in the abstract idea of the portability of social security rights within he EU. While the information about state pension in the UK is available in Polish language on official web pages, the participants of this study were neither aware of it, nor read it. They may not know where to find information, or information was not

presented in an accessible way. Therefore, there is a need to distribute reachable and legitimate information to migrants in the places where it would be accessible for them. The migrants would not use their EU rights if they did not know about them.

Welfare tourism was also not present in relation to the health care system. The research presented that the migrants are not the cause of *the crisis in the NHS*. In the case of the Polish participants, there was not such a phenomenon as health tourism (Steve 2003, Lee 2018). The phenomenon of health care tourism is often linked with lack of knowledge of the portability of health care rights. The participants did not know about reimbursement of the cost of private treatment in Poland. Thus, the need of informing the participants of transnational rights should be prioritised. Additionally, this research showed that the lack of trust in the health care services in the UK by the Polish migrants was significantly high. The negative information and gossip about the NHS services were shared widely among Polish participants. This is less likely that this is the issue of quality of the health treatments in the UK, but rather it could be a lack of genuine information available, a language barrier for the participants, who did not understand the local health system, or the differences in the health care system standards between countries. The health care system and the medical doctors position in Poland still is more hierarchical as expressed by the participant: *the doctors know the best*, therefore more egalitarian approach to the patient in the NHS might raise concerns that doctors were in doubt or do not how to treat the patient.

The participants often relied on informal networks to get information about the social security system, the participants in vulnerable situation (unemployed or homeless) experienced significant barriers to use their social rights. Therefore, the challenge in terms of the welfare system is actually not the welfare tourism, but rather barriers such as lack of knowledge, language capacities, and legitimate information about social security rights for migrants. This also could be an issue for other migrants living in the UK, who were stereotypically described in the UK, as those who came only to take benefits.

Membership. The findings of this study suggested a number of tensions between the experiences of the participants and eligibility criteria provided by the authorities such as the rules provided by the state to acquire membership in the European Union and in the UK. The assumption of sharing EU citizenship, where the members of the EU possessed the same rights and their belonging was experienced on a similar level, seems to be idealistic. The members of the EU experienced belonging differently, and only some groups of the participants (e.g. the highly skilled migrants see Chapter 7) could identify with the broader concept of belonging to the European Union not to a single

member state. The participants in the first generation seemed to be unable to acquire British identification. Even though some participants wanted to be identified as British, they were recognised as foreigners due to e.g. accent. Some of the participants did not feel rights to identify with British society, or their identity was experienced on a more abstract level than to the one country. In the participants' assumption, the second generation of migrants (i.e. migrants' children) might share British identity, however it could happen only when the parents aimed for it. It was not confirmed that the children would actually share the parents' approach. The children (second generation) might be less transnational (Alba & Nee 2003, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007), but it does not lead to a direct conclusion that the children would experience British identification intrinsically. In fact, children might experience their belonging similarly as their parents, for example they might create their belonging in relation to Poland (see Chapter 5). Therefore, political discourse in Poland claiming that the children of migrants' were lost for Poland (Carmel & Sojka 2018) would be fallacious if the parents encouraged themselves and their children to identify with the country of origin. Consequently, potential returnees could face significant challenges upon return at various levels: individual as they will be seen as failed (unsuccessful) migrants; collective as the society does not expect them to return; and more importantly institutional as the state administration might not be ready to facilitate their resettlement in Poland Carmel et al. (2019). The presented findings showed that the participants' identification was linked with their objects of attachments and utilitarian experiences of membership. Therefore, the assumption of belonging and adaptation of migrants in the UK and returnees in Poland should be thoughtfully reconsidered by the states.

Those findings on challenges in understanding and accessing the social security system and acquiring citizenship could be also seen in the reaction of the migrants on the Brexit referendum results. The possibility of receiving *settled status* seemed to give the opportunity for the EU migrants to stay in the UK if they wanted, even if they did not identify with British society. The number of applicants for *settled status* showed migrants' interest in acquiring of the rights to stay in the destination country or at least had option to stay (Georgina Sturge 2020). The number of Polish citizens, who applied until February 2020 was 639,200 (gov.uk 2020), but this figure does not show total numbers yet as the migrants have time until 2021 to apply. Moreover, some of the Polish migrants returned to Poland or moved to other countries (Krupa 2019) after Brexit referendum. However, there are still Polish migrants, who want to stay in the UK (Lumby 2019). The migrants, who decided to stay in the UK after Brexit, could further enhance the presented findings, by showing that the forms of belonging experiences are significantly apparent in the participants' experiences. The Brexit referendum seemed

to create hostile environment for migrants' experiences by e.g. *otherness of* migrants, increased attacks on migrants, and uncertainty of future rights (Guma & Dafydd Jones 2019), and so this is expected to impact on migrants' experiences of belonging. The Brexit seemed to force the migrants to use their EU citizenship, and to rethink of sharing European identity (Cassidy et al. 2018), thus it could be a push factor for their future change of the belonging experiences. Some of the migrants could consider applying for British citizenship to build their security but this does not necessarily change their identification this the overall belonging. However, becoming British citizens could influence their experiences in the future. It was shown in this thesis the participants search for a coherence in their experiences of identification, attachment, and membership. For participants, having coherence in the experiences was equally important as feeling secure and safe, so migrants could shape their belonging experiences differently because of Brexit experiences. There were more EU migrants, who applied for British citizenship since the Brexit referendum. The number of Poles applying for British citizenship increased by 44% (Duncan & O'Carroll 2018), and this suggests that the Polish migrants seek a sense of security and confirmation of their right to stay in the UK. In the context of Brexit, there were various reasons, which could impact on the decision about migration, return, and finally impact the experiences of belonging. The economic consequences of Brexit could also impact the employment market of the migrants subsequently perturb their life quality - in most cases the main reason to migrate. All in all, this shows dynamic aspects of creation of the potentially new forms of belonging after Brexit situation settles down.

Belonging. The experiences mostly with stigmatisation, challenges in daily-life and at work, feeling treated as *not a citizen* were significant in shaping the participants' experiences of belonging. The participants in the UK appeared to face poor working conditions, they felt that they were categorised as foreigners, and the public opinion highlighted that the migrants took jobs from British workers (see Chapter 6); (Wadsworth et al. 2016, Rzepnikowska 2018). It could impact on the participants' experiences of belonging and their decision to return to their country of origin. This was especially seen when the participants did not feel welcome, and they did not feel part of society. The challenge increased when the participants experienced their children might not be seen as British in the society, even if the parents assumed that the children were British. Additionally, it appeared from the collected data that the highly skilled participants (see Chapter 7) might also move from the UK after Brexit. Although the UK government expectation was to encourage qualified professionals to stay in the UK, the research presented that they did not settle permanently in one place. They seemed to easily

follow their career opportunities. This is a significant finding in the context of Brexit since many companies and projects from European Union reduced or suspended their investments in the UK until the Brexit clarity emerges (Adams 2017, Bielecki 2017). Thus, the professionals might look for opportunities in other EU countries, and did not stay in the UK long-term. The post-Brexit referendum situation seemed to show that there is a need for Brexit contingency planning, which could encourage professionals to stay in the UK unless highly skilled migrants are not considered as desired migrants any longer.

9.5 Future work

The insights delivered by this research point to a few interesting avenues to be explored in future research. With the respect to the Polish migrants, who experienced belonging differently, it would be worth to investigate the causality of different assumptions of the time frame and motivation of migration. This study showed that the assumption of the time frame of migration (a length of stay) and motivation of migration had a significant impact on the experiences. Therefore it would be interesting: what cause the form of belonging experiences of Polish migrants? The migrants' personal characteristics might determine their approach to migration. Similarly as their actual social and economic situation in Poland would be different and it would be interesting to investigate their socio-economic situation in the country of origin. A detailed investigation might demonstrate an increase in the significance of the class position in the country of origin in the differentiation of the experiences of belonging (identification, attachment, and social membership).

Moreover, as the significance of social membership in experiences of belonging was confirmed for the participants in the UK, it would be interesting to investigate the experiences of social membership of Polish migrants in both countries. There have been significant changes in the Polish social security system following the election in 2015 symbolised by the 500+ programme (a new child benefit) and many social benefits became paid on similar levels in the UK and in Poland. Polish migrants often focus on child benefits as the benefit, which they are not ashamed to claim in their opinion. Therefore it would be interesting to study: how social membership shaped experiences of belonging of Polish non-migrants in Poland? How Polish migrants' approach to child benefits in Poland, and consequently how the returnees experience social membership in Poland especially in the context of Brexit when the statistics suggested that a significant number of Poles might return (Guma & Dafydd Jones 2019, Krupa 2019). Finally, from the migrants' perspective, the pension system in the UK looks to be clear and

understandable (Carmel et al. 2015*b*, Amelina 2019), but it would be worth checking the experiences and practices of retired returnees. It would be worth exploring why the migrants are focused so strongly to acquire the state pension and not to port their contribution rights, and whether they fulfilled all requirements to receive the UK state pension.

Additionally, as I mentioned above, the transnational experiences of belonging might be applicable to other Central and Eastern European citizens. It would be interesting to investigate the application of the forms of the experiences of belonging identified in this research to the Western European migrants, and examine whether experiences of belonging of all the free movers in the EU are different for those discussed in this thesis. The free movers might not have experienced being treated as foreigners e.g. the migrants from other Eastern countries in the context of the whiteness of migrants (McDowell 2009). Then their experiences of the transnational belonging might be similar to the fluid form of the experiences of belonging or the migrants might experience their belonging differently. It would show the factors, which might impact or cause the experiences of belonging of the free movers.

Besides, my research showed that the participants identified their children's belongings in the same way as their own. The existing research suggested that the children of migrants have different experiences and might be less transnational than their parents (Alba & Nee 2003, Levitt 2004). It would be interesting to investigate how the children actually experience their transnational belonging? What is the difference of experiences of belonging among different generations? Additionally, non-free movers (non-EU citizens) may experience differently their belonging. The EU citizens are prioritised (Paul 2012, 2013) in the migration process and the non-free movers may be treated as outsiders, which could impact their identification experiences. The non-free movers do not have the same social membership rights therefore, their entire experiences of belonging could be distinct from the EU citizens. As it was identified in this research, the transnational belonging experiences are multidimensional, the participants look for the coherence in the experiences in identification, attachment, and membership. The non-free movers do not possess social citizenship rights similar to the EU citizens. The non-EU migrants had more complicated processes to acquire UK citizenship. They are considered as migrants and they are subject to the migration control so they are required to obtain a visa to travel across the EU (Carmel & Paul 2013). Therefore, their experiences of belonging could be created based on different dimensions of belonging, and lack of stable situations (Vogel 2006) could complicate their creation of attachment and identification. It would be interesting to investigate how the experiences of belong-

ing are shaped for non-EU citizens? What dimensions of belonging are important in those experiences?

Currently an important topic in relation to migration and belonging is to conduct research on the actual reasons for returning and who would return to Poland because of Brexit. There was recent research about the impact of Brexit on migrants and impact on belonging which was called *tactics of belonging* (Lulle et al. 2018). The data presented in this thesis suggest that the participants with different forms of belonging experiences might react differently to the outcome Brexit negotiations. However, the recent paper showed that Brexit might be only a push factor for them to make a final decision or change their decision. The data from ONS suggested that the number of Poles in the UK has already decreased (Travis 2017), so the migrants change their experiences of belonging or only the migrants, who experienced the presentism and fluidity form of belonging, returned. It would be interesting to check who changed their previous plan because of Brexit, and how Brexit impacted the belonging experiences?

9.6 Conclusion

Migrants experienced their belonging in a number of different ways. For migrants, the experiences of belonging become significant in their process of migration as they created and shaped their belonging experiences dynamically in the new situation. For some of them, it could be almost an effortless process, but many of them, as it was shown in this thesis, often struggle to create coherent experiences, which would help them to feel secure and safe in the new society. The experiences of belonging were an important part of the migration experiences, because it shaped how the participants thought about their migration, how they saw their professional and private life, and finally where they planned their future. The belonging experiences were identified as influential for individuals in their migration process, importantly, the findings showed that the experiences of belonging could be consequential for the state to understand the change and adaptation of migrants into the new society. The understanding how migrants experienced their identification, attachment, and membership provided the information about the importance of migrants experiences of each dimensions in the new society. The findings from this thesis showed that there was a possibility to find a set of patterns for belonging experiences among complexity and multidimensionality of those experiences. Based on the findings, it was possible to identify three distinctive forms of experiences: presentism, settlement, and fluidity and the most possible patterns of change between experienced forms of belonging. Those analyses showed how the experiences of belonging could evolve. The set of characteristics of the form of

belonging experiences supported understanding of the participants' challenges, barriers, and approach to their identification, attachment, and membership as the dimensions of their belonging.

Appendix A

Information about the research (in Polish language)

Badanie naukowe

Nazywam się Kinga Papież, jestem doktorantką na University of Bath w Wielkiej Brytanii. Prowadzę badania dotyczące Polaków. Projekt badawczy składa się z dwóch części. Pierwsza część dotyczy Polaków którzy wyemigrowali po 2004 roku mieszkają w Wielkiej Brytanii, a w drugiej części chcę porozmawiać z osobami które były w Wielkiej Brytanii i powróciły do Polski.

Celem projektu jest pokazanie doświadczeń Polaków w kontekście dostępu i transferu praw socjalnych oraz doświadczenia poczucia przynależności przez pryzmat migracji. Chcę pokazać w badaniach prawdziwą twarz Polaków oraz zastanowić się gdzie czujemy się „jak w domu" i na ile Polacy korzystają z praw które są dostępne.

Badanie skupia się na Polakach (powyżej 16 roku życia), **którzy po 2004 przyjechali do Wielkiej Brytanii i nadal mieszkaną w UK.**

Poszukuję osób które poświęciłby czas na rozmowę ze mną, która jest **ANONIMOWA** i będzie przeprowadzona w języku polskim.

Rozmowa będzie odbywała się w dogodnym dla Pani/Pana czasie i miejscu. Będzie to luźna konwersacja i dla mnie każda informacja jest istotna. Ale jak przy każdej rozmowe możemy wszyscy się czegoś ciekawego dowiedzieć, a poza tym będzie to okazja żeby porozmawiać o swoich doświadczeniach migracji.

W rozmowie zależy mi na skupieniu się na doświadczaniach związanych z pobytem w Anglii, korzystania z praw socjalnych które są dostępne np. ubezpieczenie zdrowotne, zasiłki oraz doświadczenia związane z poczuciem przynależności i planami na przyszłość.

W razie pytań proszę o kontakt

Figure A-1: Information about the research for participants in the South West England (in Polish language)

Badanie naukowe

Nazywam się Kinga Papież, jestem doktorantką na University of Bath w Wielkiej Brytanii. Prowadzę badania dotyczące Polaków. Projekt badawczy składa się z dwóch części. Pierwsza część dotyczy Polaków którzy wyemigrowali po 2004 roku mieszkają w Wielkiej Brytanii, a w drugiej części chcę porozmawiać z osobami które były w Wielkiej Brytanii i powróciły do Polski.

Celem projektu jest pokazanie doświadczeń Polaków w kontekście dostępu i transferu praw socjalnych oraz doświadczenia poczucia przynależności przez pryzmat migracji. Chcę pokazać w badaniach doświadczenia Polaków oraz zastanowić się gdzie czują się i definiują, że jest ich 'domu' oraz jak Polacy określają swoje doświadczenia korzystania z systemy praw socjalnych w Polsce i Wielkiej Brytanii.

Badanie skupia się na Polakach **którzy byli w Wielkiej Brytanii i obecnie mieszkają w Polsce.** Poszukuję osób które poświęciłby czas na rozmowę ze mną, która jest **ANONIMOWA** i będzie przeprowadzona w języku polskim.

Rozmowa będzie odbywała się w dogodnym dla Pani/Pana czasie i miejscu **(najprawdopodobniej w czasie od listopad/grudzień 2016)**. Będzie to luźna konwersacja i dla mnie każda informacja jest istotna. Ale jak przy każdej rozmowe możemy wszyscy się czegoś ciekawego dowiedzieć, a poza tym będzie to okazja żeby porozmawiać o swoich doświadczeniach migracji.

W rozmowę zależy mi na skupieniu się na doświadczeniach związanych z pobytem w Anglii, korzystania z praw socjalnych które są dostępne np. ubezpieczenie zdrowotne, zasiłki oraz doświadczenia związane z poczuciem przynależności i planami na przyszłość oraz motywami powrotu do Polski.

W razie pytań proszę o kontakt

Figure A-2: Information about the research for returnees in Poland (in Polish language)

Appendix B

Information about the research posted in social media

Polska Emigracja

BEZPŁATNE

[redacted]

Witam,
Jakis czas temu pisałam już tutaj! Dziękuję tym którzy się już zgłosili 😉
Jestem doktorantką na uniwersytecie w Bath. Prowadzę badania dotyczące Polaków którzy po 2004 przyjechali do Wielkiej Brytanii. Poszukuję osób które poświęciłby czas na rozmowę ze mną, która jest ANONIMOWA. W rozmowę zleży mi na dowiedzeniu się od Was o doświadczanie pobytu w Anglii, korzystania z praw które tutaj są dla nas dostępne np. ubezpieczenie zdrowotne, zasiłki oraz doświadczenia związane z poczuciem przynależności i planami na przyszłość.

Poszukuje teraz bardzo konkretnych osób które miałby lub maja doświadczenie pracy w UK

1. W wieku 16-19 lat
2. W wieku 60 +
3. Osoby której maja podwójne obywatelstwo (Polskie i Brytyjskie)
4. Osoby które zdecydowany się na powrót do Polaki, ale potem ponownie wróciły do UK.

Bardzo proszę o pomoc, rozmowy do tej pory były bardzo ciekawe i ma nadzieje na więcej. Każde doświadczenie jest interesujące jakie tutaj każdy z nas ma.

Kontakt w każdej formie przez FB oraz telefonicznie [redacted]

Opublikuj w innych miejscach

Figure B-1: The information about the research posted on Polish forums on Facebook, in Polish language.

Appendix C

Letter for charities

Whom it may concern,

I am a Postgraduate Researcher at University of Bath. I am working in the international project TRANSWEL, to explore the *experiences of transnational belonging and social citizenship.*

The aim of this research is to explore the experiences and understanding of social citizenship and belonging of the Polish migrants in the UK. Our part of the research focuses on social security, welfare, and belonging in Poland and the UK. Therefore I am looking for Polish migrants in South West area of interest in the UK. Firstly I would like to ask about Polish migrant who are homeless or who need some help in areas of interest, if of course Polish migrants have used charity`s help.
If you know Polish homeless people or who need help, I would like to ask if it is possible to spend some time and help in your charity. I would like to help the charity but also I would like to build trust between me and Polish people in areas. Of course with all respect to ethical requirements. I understand that it is not easy to trust stranger, I have processional background. I did my MSc in psychology and I understand how serious is to work with people who experiences that kind of difficulties in their life.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

Figure C-1: The information letter for charities in South West part of the UK about the research and collaboration.

Appendix D

Consent form

Zgoda na badanie

Został/a Pani/Pan zaproszona/y do badania które jest prowadzone przez doktorantkę Kingę Papież z University of Bath, UK. Celem projektu naukowego jest zbadanie doświadczeń i rozumienia poczucia przynależności (narodowej, krajowej, rodzinnej) i obywatelstwa polskich migrantów, którzy mają możliwość korzystania z praw socjalnych w Wielkiej Brytanii. Dodatkowo badanie ma na celu zidentyfikowanie ograniczeń jakie Polacy doświadczają w dostępnie do praw socjalnych.

Osoby zaanagażowane w project są poinformowane o celach projektu oraz wymagach jego poufności. Wywiad będzie nagrywany na dyktafon. Materiał z nagrania pomoże w analize danych, jednak będzie użyty tylko do celu przepisania wywiadu. Następnie zostanie skazowany. Informacje podane podczas wywiadu będą anonimizowane i nie będzie można przypisać elementów wywiadu do danych osobowych. Poufność jest podstawowym wymogiem przeprowadzenia badania i wymagana jest przez prawo.

Udział w wywiadzie jest dobrowolny. Jeśli zdecyduje się Pani/Pan na udział, proszę o złożenie podpis poniżej z uwzgledneiniem daty.

Imię i nazwisko..... Data i miejsce urodzienia .....

Data wywiadu ..... Podpis.....

Figure D-1: Consent form for participants to keep the data after interviews (in Polish language).

Appendix E

List of the participants included into the research analyses

Colours used in the table denote:

- the participants experienced presentism form of belonging experiences (blue),
- the participants experienced settlement form of belonging experiences (orange),
- the participants experienced fluidity form of belonging experiences (green), and
- the significant others (lavender).

Name (anonymised)	Sex	Age	First-time migration to the UK	Actual employment status	Education	Migration form	Marital status	No. of children
Adam	M	51	6y.	Self-employed	Secondary education	One-time (circular for the first 5 years)	Married	0
Bogdan	M	29	4y.	Unemployed	Bachelor degree	Double returnees	Cohabitation (homosexual)	0
Cezary	M	35	8y.	Unemployed	Master degree	One-time	Married	1
Darek	M	43	12y.	Employed (driver)	Secondary education	One-time	Married	2
Edward	M	42	12y.	Unemployed (homeless)	Trade education	One-time	Single	0
Franciszek	M	46	12y.	Employed via agency	2x Master degree	One-time	Divorcee	2
Ignacy	M	36	13y.	Self-employed	Secondary education	One-time	Married	3
Jan	M	33	8y.	Self-employed	2x Master degree	One-time (seasonal 3 years)	Single	0
Anna	F	28	1m.	Employed (unemployed in PL)	Master degree	Seasonal	Single	0
Barbara	F	39	13y.	Unemployed (income support)	Vocational education	One-time	Cohabitation (divorcee)	0
Cecylia	F	30	1y.	Unemployed	Master degree	One-time	Married	1
Karol	M	30	2y.	Emoloyed	Master degree	One-time	Married	1
Dorota	F	55	10y.	Unemployed (dependent on husband‘s income)	Master degree	One-time	Married	0
Ewa	F	30	9y.	Employed	Doctoral degree	One-time	Single	0

Continued on next page

Table E.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Name (anonymised)	Sex	Age	Length of stay in the UK	Actual employment status	Education	Migration form	Marital status	No. of children
Franciszka	F	40	12y.	Employed (part-time)	Master degree	One-time	Married	3
Grażyna	F	65	1m/5y.	Retired	Professional technical education	One-time	Widow	2
Lech	M	54	1y./12y.	Employed	Vocational education	One-time	Married	3
Helena	F	38	10y.	Self-employed	Bachelor degree	One-time (double returnees)	Cohabitation (divorcee)	2
Lucyna	F	23	4.y	Employed via agency	Not completed Bachelor	Seasonal	Single	0
Maria	F	23	3m.	Employed via agency	Bachelor degree	Seasonal	Single	0
Marcin	M	34	12y.	Self-employed	Secondary education	One-time	Cohabitation	0
Norbert	M	33	5y.	Employed contract	Bachelor degree	One-time	Single	0
Olaf	M	35	6y.	Unemployed	Doctoral degree	One-time	Single	0
Natalia	F	34	9y.	Employed (from1.09.2016)	Master degree	One-time	Married	0
Olga	F	49	4y.	Self-employed (own firm)	Professional technical education	One-time	Married	6
Paulina	F	59	11y.	Employed	Medical doctor	One-time	Married	1
Roberta	F	59	7y.	Employed	Vocational education	One-time	Divorced	2
Sara	F	33	9y.	Employed (maternity leave)	Bachelor degree	One-time	Married	2

Continued on next page

Table E.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Name (anonymised)	Sex	Age	Length of stay in the UK	Actual employment status	Education	Migration form	Marital status	No. of children
Teresa	F	33	6y.	Employed (part-time contract per 5h)	Professional technical education	One-time	Cohabitation	1
Patryk	M	49	14y.	Employed (full-time) and Self-employed	Grammar school	One-time	Married	6
Robert	M	37	3m.	Unemployed without right to allowance in PL	Master degree	One-time (seasonal)	Single	0
Urszula	F	29	14y.	Employed (full time)	Master degree	One-time	Cohabitation	2
Stanisław	M	31	8y.	Employed (full-time)	Vocational	Double returnees	Cohabitation	1
Wioleta	F	27	4y.	Employed (full-time)	Professional technical education	Double returnees (2 months in Poland between)	Cohabitation	0
Tadeusz	M	19	3y.	Employed (full-time)	Secondary education	One-time	Cohabitation (homosexual	0
Zofia	F	37	3y.	Self-employed	Vocational education	One-time	Single/lone mother	1
Agnieszka	F	29	2y.	Self-employed	Vocational education	One-time	Cohabitation	0
Bogumiła	F	67	6y.	Retirement	Secondary education	One-time	Widow	2
Celina	F	29	9y.	Self-employed	Secondary education	One-time	Married	2
Dagmara	F	42	5y.	Employed (part-time)	Master degree	One-time	Cohabitation (divorcee)	1

Continued on next page

Table E.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Name (anonymised)	Sex	Age	Length of stay in the UK	Actual employment status	Education	Migration form	Marital status	No. of children
Ewelina	F	67	3y.	Retirement in PL/pension credit	Master degree	One-time	Widow	3
Małgorzata	F	29	5y.	Employed in PL	PhD student in PL	Circular	Married	0
Aneta	F	35	12y.(1y ago)	Self-employed in the UK	Master degree	Returnee	Married	1
Anna	F	28	9m.	Self-employed in Poland	Master degree	Returnee	Single	0
Bożena	F	36	3y.(3y.ago)	Self-employed	Master degree	Returnee	Married	5
Andrzej	M	39	12y.(5m.ago)	Unemployed in PL	Secondary education	Returnee	Married	1
Bartosz	M	29	9y.	Employed (zero contract hours)	Master degree	Returnee	Single	0
Klara	F	32	12y. (3y.ago)	Unemployed in PL	Secondary education	Returnee	Married	3
Faustyna	F	31	4y.(5y.ago)	Employed	Secondary education	Returnee	Married	2
Aga	F	29	2014	Self-employed	Vocational education	Significant other	Single	0
Beata	F	71		Retirement/employed	Master degree	Significant other	Widow	0
Czesława	F	28	2012,2014,2016	Voluntary job	Master degree	Significant other	Married	2
Dominika	F	63		Retirement	Professional technical education	Significant other	Married	2
Edyta	F	39	2016	Employed full time	Master degree	Significant other	Single	0
Antoni	M	29	2013,2014,2016	Student/employed	Master degree	Significant other	Cohabitation	0

Appendix F

Visual documentation of the fieldwork in the South West England

Figure F-1: An example of carboots in the South West England where Polish migrants buy cheaper goods.

Figure F-2: An example of carboots in the South West England where Polish migrants buy cheaper goods.

Figure F-3: An example of carboots in the South West England where Polish migrants buy cheaper goods.

Figure F-4: An example of the place where I searched for new Polish networks and possible new participants for the research.

Figure F-5: The Polish Heritage Day in the South West England.

Figure F-6: An example of traditional Polish dance on the Polish Heritage Day in the South West England.

Figure F-7: The Polish traditional costumes exhibited during the Polish Heritage Day in the South West England.

Figure F-8: The Polish Heritage Day in the South West England.

Figure F-9: The Polish Heritage Day in the South West England.

Figure F-10: The Polish Heritage Day in the South West England.

Figure F-11: The Polish Heritage Day in the South West England.

Appendix G

Visual documentation of the fieldwork in Poland

Figure G-1: The place in one of the city in Central Poland where one of the interview was collected.

Figure G-2: The place in one of the town in Central-West part of Poland where one of the interviews was collected.

Figure G-3: The place in one of the villages in South Poland where the interview was collected.

Appendix H

An example of visual documentation of the collected data

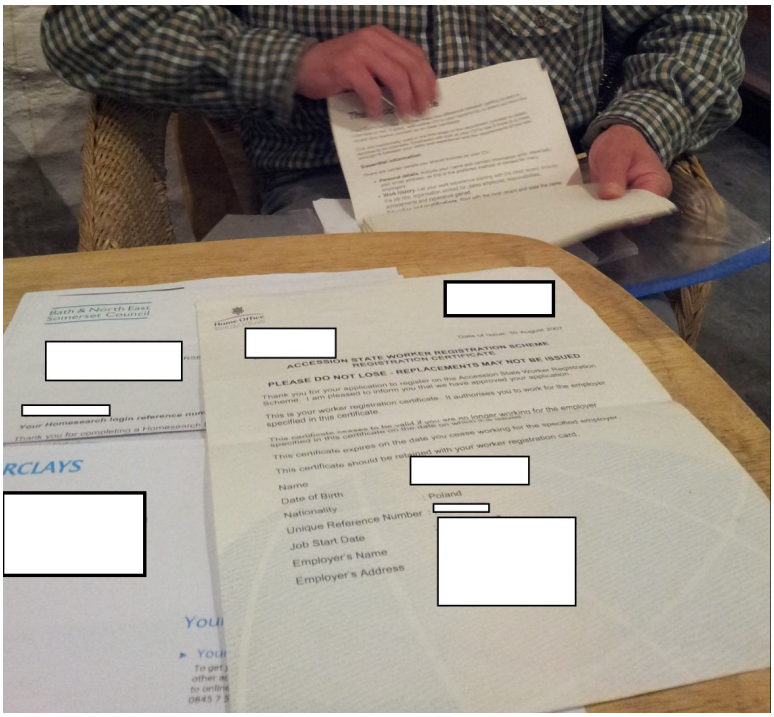
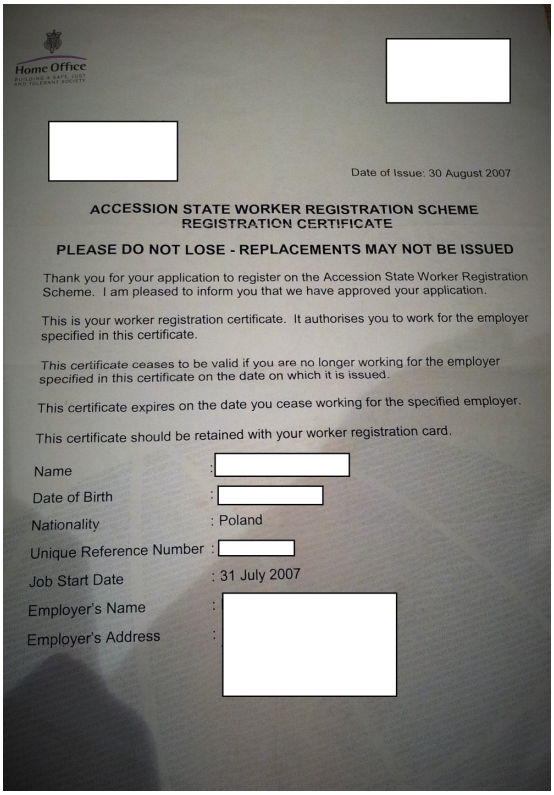


Figure H-1: The interview with Polish migrant in the UK, where I could see the official documents which the migrants received during the time of migration.



Home Office

Date of Issue: 30 August 2007

ACCESSION STATE WORKER REGISTRATION SCHEME
REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE

PLEASE DO NOT LOSE - REPLACEMENTS MAY NOT BE ISSUED

Thank you for your application to register on the Accession State Worker Registration Scheme. I am pleased to inform you that we have approved your application.

This is your worker registration certificate. It authorises you to work for the employer specified in this certificate.

This certificate ceases to be valid if you are no longer working for the employer specified in this certificate on the date on which it is issued.

This certificate expires on the date you cease working for the specified employer.

This certificate should be retained with your worker registration card.

Name :
Date of Birth :
Nationality : Poland
Unique Reference Number :
Job Start Date : 31 July 2007
Employer's Name :
Employer's Address :

Figure H-2: The work registration certificate of the migrants from the Home Office in the UK.

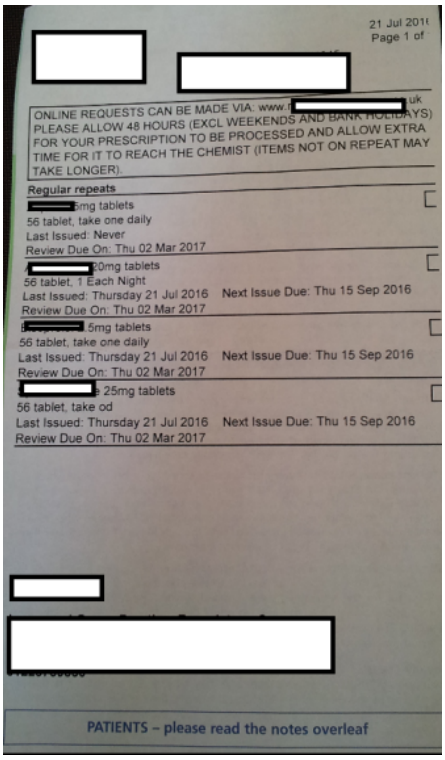


Figure H-3: The prescription for the medicines which the migrants got from the GP in the UK.

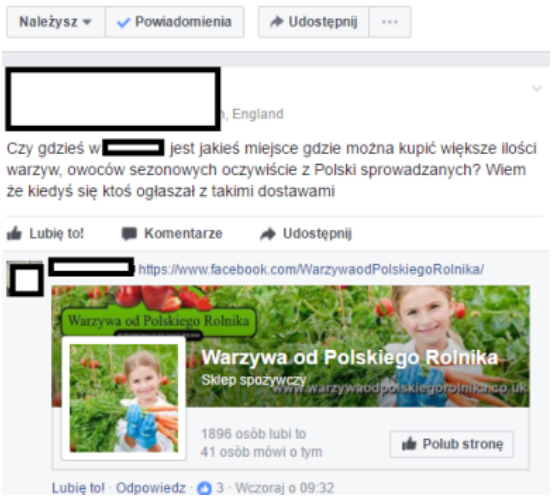


Figure H-4: The question about place where it is possible to buy fresh vegetables from Poland posted on Facebook group for Polish migrants.

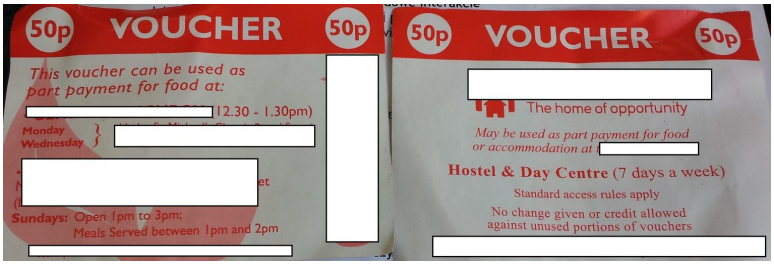


Figure H-5: An example of the food vouchers which were used by Polish homeless in the UK.

Figure H-6: Cigarettes for sale posted on Facebook by Polish migrants. The cigarettes were transported from Poland to the UK.

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